

TENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

MASS. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESENTED JAN. 26, 1842.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

BOSTON:
DOW & JACKSON'S PRESS.
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REPORT.

THE Board of Managers would congratulate the Society on the completion of the first *decade* since its organization. Although it saddens the humane mind to know that, during this long term, slavery in this country has not only withstood all the vigorous assaults that have been made upon it, but greatly increased the number of its victims; yet it is in the highest degree cheering to know that a vast amount of *preparatory* work has been performed for the subversion of that dreadful system—that anti-slavery means and influences have continued steadily and rapidly to increase—and that the advocates of immediate and unconditional emancipation have multiplied from a truly insignificant number to a mighty host. If it took WILBERFORCE and CLARKSON, with all the philanthropy and religion which they could rally to the side of bleeding humanity, more than twenty years to make the foreign slave trade an illegal practice,—if it required more than half a century of active and laborious effort to achieve the total overthrow of British West India slavery,—the surprise of every intelligent mind must be, not that American slavery still continues to pollute our soil, but that such astonishing progress has been made towards effecting its downfall. Its existence in this country was almost coeval with that of the first pilgrim settlement. Since the United States became an independent republic, it has received national protection, encouragement, support. Stock is held in it, in all parts of the country. It is an element that pervades and controls every branch of industry,—as decisively in the free as in the slaveholding States. It has obtained such power and mastery, that the religion and politics of the nation are the mere vassals of its will. It has created so loathsome and dreadful a prejudice against all persons of African descent, (particularly all such as are not slaves,) that they are treated as the offscouring of all things, by common consent.

Now, a system which has thus grown with the growth, and strengthened with the strength of a young and flourishing republic for a period of two hundred years, is not to be crushed, if morally assailed, by a single blow, but by patient toil, unwavering faith, and protracted exertion. Nor is the spirit of caste easily destroyed in any country; and wherever it exists, or in whatever form, it furnishes one of the most serious obstacles which Christianity has to encounter. The Brahminical caste in India is not more haughty or malignant than American prejudice against a sable complexion. The missionaries in India know how extremely difficult, how almost impracticable it is, to induce the natives to become Christians, on account of their dread of losing caste; and all who, in this country, have dared to treat the colored race with respect and courtesy, as members of the great human family, know from bitter experience how such conduct is generally regarded. The overthrow of American prejudice, therefore, must necessarily be the work of many years, even under the most favorable circumstances. Being generated and fostered by slavery, not much progress can be made in its extirpation until slavery itself be destroyed.

To those who are ignorant of the philosophy of reform, or who are afraid or unwilling to espouse an unpopular cause, it may seem as if money, time, talent, effort, are expended to very little purpose by the abolitionists. They often tauntingly ask, "What have you done?" as though nothing whatever had been accomplished. They walk by sight—and they see that the slave system is still apparently impregnable. They see, moreover, that, within the last ten years, more than half a million slaves have been added to the capital stock. "And this, ye misguided abolitionists!" they exclaim, "is the measure of your success! Abandon your insane project! Your toil is as hopeless as was that of Sisyphus! Your measures are all wrong—your hopes are all delusive!" When these scoffers observe the friends of emancipation pressing forward, undismayed by opposition, they are amazed at their infatuation; but when they hear them asserting that they are "on the full tide of successful experiment," that every thing is working advantageously for their cause, that they have already given the death-blow to the monster slavery, and that certain victory is near at hand, these blind cavillers are appalled at such audacity, and shocked at such a wanton disregard of truth!

In every great reform, there is a vast amount of *preliminary* toil to be performed, which, though it seems to produce no effect

upon the object to be cast down, is really not only all that can, but all that need be done, for the time being, to secure victory. Every gigantic system of crime is surrounded by numerous outposts, which are not easily vanquished, which serve to prolong the conflict and to prevent a general engagement, and which constitute, in fact, the chief barriers to success. When these have been successively carried, the citadel is conquered without much loss or difficulty.

Perhaps there has never been a reform,—certainly none since the days of Luther,—hemmed in, at its commencement, with more difficulties, or started under more hopeless auspices, or less likely to obtain a strong and rapid growth, than the anti-slavery reform. Slavery, though a local institution, was an omnipotent power. To its omnipresence, the attribute of omnipotence seemed to be very closely allied. It had its spies, its informers, its paid tools, its volunteer friends, its interested partizans, its influential patrons, its commercial connexions, its family relationships, its political backers, its religious retainers, in all parts of the republic. Whatever sentiment was uttered in opposition to its supremacy, or whatever movement was made for its subversion,—however humble the individual by whom that sentiment might be uttered, or however insignificant the party by whom that movement might be made,—was sure to be noted down, and to bring speedy retribution along with it. It was found to be literally true, in a thousand cases, that a man's foes were they of his own household. He who dared to be and to avow himself an abolitionist, made up his mind to lose a respectable position in society, and to be covered with reproachful epithets. Popularity, reputation, influence, property, and even personal safety, were all more than perilled by him who lifted up his voice in favor of immediate and universal emancipation. It was a disgusting offence, an enormous crime, to insist upon the equality of the colored man with the white, and to call for the banishment of prejudice. The spirit of slavery was vigilant to detect insubordination, at all hours, in all places, under all guises. Its *espionage* was universal, perfect, frightful. It travelled in all steam-boats, sailing packets, rail-road cars, and other public conveyances, and carefully marked every one who ventured to question its patriarchal origin. It held almost every printing press under its control. It ruled at every caucus, and decided every election. It had subjugated nearly every pulpit in the land, and priest and politician were alike its servile defenders.

On 'change, its praises were shouted by all voices. All professions, from the highest to the lowest—all trades, from the most lucrative to the least remunerative—were influenced by it. It poisoned the mind of the Maine wood-cutter by the side of the North Eastern Boundary—it blinded the vision of the dweller on the granite range of New Hampshire—it palsied the understanding of the sturdy farmer on the Green Mountains of Vermont—it subjugated the spirit of the western emigrant on the very borders of Mexico. This was the terrible power to be grappled with and borne down to the earth !

When a nation is to be reformed, the first thing, *in order*, is to arouse it from its slumber of moral death; and when this is accomplished—when the trump of reformation has startled every sleeper and agitated every bosom, and the people are compelled to listen to unwelcome truth—the reformation may be said to have made a mighty stride onward. But to effect even this one object, much time, much exertion, and no inconsiderable expenditure of means, are necessary.

If, then, the honest inquirer would know whether the abolitionists have made any progress,—and if he would correctly measure their success by the amount of the means and efforts they have put forth,—let him inquire into the condition of the nation when the anti-slavery trump first gave a full and certain sound.

What, then, was that condition?

So far as the free States were concerned, no other interest was felt in the question of slavery, or in the condition of the free colored population, than was manifested in a blind support of the nefarious scheme of African expatriation, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. The people were in gross darkness and profound apathy, in regard to the facts of slavery, and to the relation which, ecclesiastically, religiously, politically and constitutionally, they sustained to that system. The idea of getting rid of the objects of their prejudice and cruelty, by transportation to the coast of Africa, was exceedingly agreeable; and clothed as it was with the pretence of a religious concern for the spiritual regeneration of a benighted continent, it served to lull them into a profound slumber. Further than this, they knew nothing and cared nothing about their duties and responsibilities as the members of a republic which held in captivity so large a portion of the inhabitants. An anti-slavery sermon was never heard from the pulpit. The press was equally dumb. The

entire North lay crouching in fear under the overshadowing power of slavery—spell-bound, palsied, death-struck.

Behold how great, how wonderful, how universal a change! A small body of men, without influence, without wealth, almost without any means—at first, regarded with contempt, laughed at as fanatics, stigmatized as incendiaries, persecuted as criminals—have galvanized the whole country, and so thoroughly aroused the people to a sense of their perilous condition, that they can never slumber again until the last vestige of slavery be removed, or the exterminating judgments of the Almighty make the United States as Admah and Zeboim. The great task of waking up a nation, “dead in trespasses and sins,” in order to make it hear and know the truth, by the reception of which alone it can be saved, has been effectually performed. The sea of agitation is rising higher and higher; the storm of excitement is increasing in power and sublimity; the land is reeling from the earthquake shocks of the conflicting moral elements. The abolition of slavery is the all pervading subject of conversation, discussion, inquiry and speculation, from one end of the country to the other. All political, all religious, all legislative bodies, are compelled to give it their serious attention, and to take some kind of action upon it.

If the friends of the anti slavery enterprise have done nothing else in stirring up this unprecedented national excitement, they have done a work at which all marvel, and which ensures the speedy downfall of the slave-system. It is, in itself, the first, most important, and longest step toward a great and final victory.

But the nation has not been merely thrown into a state of high excitement. An immense amount of information, respecting the origin, nature and tendency of slavery, has been spread before the people of the non-slaveholding States, in the shape of tracts, pamphlets, books, newspapers, lectures, and other forms of publication. Without this information, the national agitation would have quickly subsided, and a fatal relapse been the consequence. To scatter it broadcast has required no small amount of money. But let it be remembered that the anti-slavery enterprise was commenced without pecuniary means, and that the first newspaper enlisted in its defence had not a single subscriber, on the issuing of its first number. If, since that period, hundreds of thousands of dollars have been expended in the cause, and abolition intelligence has been diffused in all parts of the land, it furnishes

decisive proof that great progress has been made toward the overthrow of slavery.

Another fact, equally important, deserves the serious consideration of those who imagine, or affect to believe, that the abolitionists have made no impression upon the slave-system, if they have not positively retarded the progress of emancipation. The number of actual slaveholders in the United States, it is believed, does not exceed two hundred and fifty thousand—less than the population of a single northern city. So small a body could not hold nearly three millions of slaves in bondage, without the physical co-operation of other parts of the country. Upon that co-operation, the Southern planters rely, and the withdrawal of it would be equivalent to a proclamation in favor of immediate and universal emancipation. Every intelligent man knows, and every honest man will readily concede, that the moment the overwhelming physical force of the North shall cease to be pledged to the South against slave insurrections, that moment will the slaves be able to recover their lost liberties. The slave system is guarded by Northern bayonets, and the entire strength of the Union exerted to sustain it. The partners in this oppressive and bloody speculation are the North and the South—with this important difference: the North is the principal, and the South the agent. Hence, the abolitionists have made no direct efforts to abolitionize the South. They have been often taunted, it is true, for not going to the South, and sarcastically commended for their prudence and forecast. But they have cared nothing for the jeers of the ignorant, or the insinuations of the vile. It is not because they have not had the courage to cross Mason's and Dixon's line, that they have confined their attention primarily and almost exclusively to the North; but because they have clearly seen, from the commencement of their labors, by whom the slave system is upheld—who is the active partner in the concern—and where repentance and reformation must first take place. Even supposing that they could have safely labored in the South, of what avail would it have been for northern men to have gone thither, and upbraided her for her crimes, while they left the still more guilty North to go unrebuked? Can a stream rise higher than the fountain? Why should we go to the South, if slavery lives only by Northern power and patronage? if slaveholding is no bar to Christian communion and fellowship at the North? if prejudice against a colored complexion is more rampant on this than on the other side of the Potomac? if northern divinity and politics are

enlisted on the side of the Southern task-master? The reproach is unjust, and indicates a mind devoid of common sense and ignorant of sound philosophy, if not murderous in spirit. If the abolitionists are cowards, who are the brave? If they are not laying the axe at the root of the Upas tree, why do the advocates and supporters of slavery tremble at the sound of their blows? If they are not laboring in the right quarter, in the right way, and in the most successful manner, how shall the fact be accounted for, that the whole body of slave-owners and their abettors are furiously hostile to their proceedings, and the whole colored population are warmly enlisted in their favor?

The proposition being demonstrable, that it is solely by the assistance of the North that southern slavery is upheld on the American soil, the question, whether the abolitionists have made any progress, and to what extent, toward the accomplishment of their purposes, is to be settled, not exclusively or directly by an appeal to the South, but by comparing the state of things at the North in 1830, in relation to this matter, with that in 1842. Now, if it can be shown that, during that period, a mighty change has taken place in public sentiment, in all the free States, in favor of immediate emancipation; that the anti-slavery movement has been steadily and rapidly growing in majesty and power, so that Church and State are fast becoming influenced by it to take right action on the subject of slavery; that thousands of societies, embracing persons of all sects and parties, have been organized, expressly to break the slaveholding alliance between the North and the South, and to let the enslaved go free; that anti-slavery presses have been established in nearly every free State; that legislation has, in various instances, come to the rescue of bleeding humanity; that thousands of petitions, signed by hundreds of thousands of persons, have been sent to Congress, praying that no national countenance or support may be given to slavery or the slave trade; that various presbyteries, synods, conferences and churches have branded the act of slaveholding as a flagrant sin against God, and withdrawn Christian fellowship from those who subject their fellow-creatures to bondage;—if these and a thousand other facts, equally cheering and decisive, can be shown, (and they are notoriously true,) it follows, as a necessary consequence, that the mighty prop which has so long sustained the slave-system is about to fall, and that the jubilee of enfranchised humanity is not a remote event.

The anti-slavery agitation is increasing daily, and converts to

our sacred cause are multiplying in every direction. This is conceded even by the Southern press. It is one of those revolutions that never go backward. It is a struggle for the rights of man—for freedom :

“ And Freedom’s battle once begun,
Bequeath’d by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won !”

Upon what is the South relying for quietude or defence? She is in the wrong, and therefore can have no repose. She has no moral power to wield in a contest like this, and therefore cannot defend herself from the moral assaults of the abolitionists. She cannot expect either to out-weary or to overawe the friends of impartial liberty: they will trouble her conscience, and expose her crimes, and baffle her machinations, and from her violence acquire new strength. They will allow nothing to deter them from seeking the immediate and entire emancipation of every American slave. Never were men more in earnest. Let the South hear and take warning ! At present, the case stands thus: There are multitudes at the North, whose abhorrence of slavery leads them to refuse the use of slave grown productions. There are hundreds of thousands who are united, in an associated form, to do all that in them lies to overturn the entire slave system in a moral, peaceable and constitutional manner. There are numerous vigilance committees, which are expressly organized to give succor and advice to all runaway slaves from the great prison-house of bondage; and these are aided by many who do not wish to be classed among the abolitionists. There are tens of thousands, who will never, in case of a slave insurrection, fight either personally or by proxy against men who are struggling to break the fetters of tyranny. There are multitudes who have sundered their political and religious connexion with the South, and washed their hands free of all participation in the unrighteous and dreadful compact, by which northern liberty and Christianity are chained to the car of southern slavery. At the communion table of many a church, no slaveholder is allowed to take a seat. In many a pulpit, no clerical slaveholder is allowed to make his appearance. Facts like these should be soberly pondered by the South. They are not to be treated sportively, or derisively, or skeptically. There is but one remedy for this state of things—namely, the total and immediate abolition of slavery.

In their last Annual Report, the Board went into a critical ex-

amination of the aggravated charges which had been brought against the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society by a new and hostile organization, called the Massachusetts Abolition Society. Those charges were shown, in every instance, by documentary evidence, to be untrue, and the seceders from the old society were left without excuse. An elaborate attempt, however, was made to impair the force of it in the second annual report of the Abolition Society. Twelve columns of the *Free American* were occupied in stating the grounds of the secession, not one of which had, in fact, any thing to do with the question at issue, and nearly all of which were devoted to an exposition, not of the misdeeds of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, but of the "heresies" of the Editor of the *Liberator*, for which no one in the world is responsible but Mr. Garrison. Of some twenty or thirty specifications in the rejoinder, only two related to the actual doings of the State Society, which two, the Board do cheerfully acknowledge, were strictly true—to wit : 1. That the Society allows all its members to participate in its proceedings, without distinction of sex or color. 2. That this Society refuses to settle the question, whether it is the duty of every man to use the elective franchise ; but leaves its members free to follow their own convictions of duty on this point. All the other specifications were merely personal attacks upon certain individuals connected with this Society, for whose conduct or opinions they alone are answerable. It is scarcely credible that such a document should have been intelligently and deliberately adopted by an association making some pretensions at least to decency and self-respect. No marvel that the Executive Committee of the Abolition Society felt constrained to confess, in their Report, that they were "humbled and mortified" in view of the absurd reasons which they had given in vindication of the new organization movement. The marvel is, that they should have been so infatuated as to resort to low artifices, coarse personalities, and the presentation of false issues, and suppose that, in this manner, they would be able to justify themselves in the eyes of an intelligent people. It is understood that a very large edition of their Report was printed, and widely disseminated, many copies of which were transmitted to England for the edification and enlightenment of the abolitionists in that country !

This appears to have been the last dying effort of the New Organization ; since which, it has given no signs of life in *that form*. It has gone through the process of metempsychosis, and now as-

sumes in this Commonwealth the shape of a third political party. All at once, its tactics were changed: its coarse revilings were turned to honeyed accents—its speculations in calumny to speculations in politics—its desires to crush the pioneer anti-slavery society, to attempts to build up a new political organization! Without giving any signs of repentance—without offering to make the slightest restitution for the injuries it had done—it suddenly grew sick of controversy, saw no occasion for strife or division, discovered that the anti-slavery field was broad enough to contain all who wished to occupy it aggressively against slavery, and seemed anxious to get a new name and a new form. In no other way could it escape annihilation. All its plots had failed, its misrepresentations proved abortive, its professions been shown to be hollow.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society occupies the same ground, pursues the same measures, and entertains the same opinions, as it did at the time of the secession. If, at that time, it deserved to be vigorously assailed by the seceders, in their organized capacity, it does so now. If, at that time, it was “a woman’s rights, non-government, anti-slavery society”—if it was pursuing a course “fatal to the cause of the slave”—if it had “thrown away its principles, and with them the staff of its power”—if it had tied to the neck of the cause “a mill-stone, to sink to the depths of a bottomless ocean, the hopes of enslaved millions”—it is still in the same condemnation, and deserves to be resisted with as much energy and held up to as much odium as it was two years since. In the cessation of hostilities on the part of its rival, the Massachusetts Abolition Society, the inference may be fairly drawn, either that they ought never to have been waged, or that the managers and friends of that Society have grown supine, and ceased to be faithful watchmen upon the walls of liberty.

Nothing can be further from the Board, or from the Society which they represent, than a desire to provoke a renewal of those hostilities. Ours has been a defensive, not an aggressive conflict. It is a lamentable spectacle to see the professed friends of emancipation stoutly opposed to each other, instead of uniting their means and their energies against the common enemy. The ground that we have occupied from the beginning has been broad and catholic. We have merged in oblivion our political and sectarian differences, in our zeal to deliver those who are spoiled, out of the hands of their oppressors. We are pledged to oppose

whatever is pro-slavery by position or character, but to co-operate harmoniously with the real friends of liberty and equal rights. The spirit that has brought dissensions into our ranks, and caused our weapons to be turned against each other, is essentially the offspring of sectarianism. It cannot be too narrowly watched, or too strongly rebuked, or too resolutely resisted. It is that which can never be truly abolitionized—which cannot act from pure and disinterested motives—which is ever striving to hold, rather than destroy, mastery—which assumes all Protean shapes, and exhibits all chameleon colors—which is “full of all deceivableness of unrighteousness;” If it cannot openly put down the anti-slavery movement, it will stealthily attempt to manage it. It has twice been detected, in the guise of abolitionism—first, in the “Clerical Appeal,” and, secondly, in the “New Organization” conspiracy—fomenting chisms and exciting jealousies among us; and in both instances it has been promptly unmasked, and driven from the field. What it expects to achieve by the third party movement in this part of the country, or what shape it will next assume, remains to be seen. In this hour of seeming repose, it is smarting under its signal discomfitures, and doubtless concocting some new scheme of mischief, to be developed at the earliest favorable opportunity. It is for the true-hearted in our ranks to be ever vigilant, uncompromising, and prepared for every emergency. Other trials are before them, and other efforts will be made to lead them astray.

While it is true that, in this Commonwealth, “new organization,” has assumed the form of a third political party, (though professedly irrespective of the old divisions,) to which a very few of the friends and members of this Society belong,—it is not equally true that, in other parts of the country, the supporters of that political movement are to be ranked as exclusively in the same category. But, whatever may be the motives which actuate those who are in favor of a distinct political anti-slavery organization,—whether patriotic or selfish,—it is still the firm conviction of the Board, that such an organization is unnecessary, and in its tendency detrimental to the highest welfare of the anti-slavery cause. The number of its adherents has certainly increased within the last twelve months; but this is no proof of its necessity or excellence. To use the language of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1837, “we deprecate the organization of any abolition political party”—because it changes the moral aspect of our cause, and is the substitution of a human device for

a moral instrumentality to extirpate the system and the spirit of slavery from the land; because it is not merely a new, and at best a doubtful measure, but a wide departure from the old anti-slavery track, and violates the most solemn professions and pledges repeatedly given by American abolitionists; and because it is not legitimately within the scope of our enterprise for its friends to *organize*, in their own persons, either the politics or the religion of the country, but to operate upon them by that power which is able to break the flinty heart in pieces, and by those weapons which are mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds. The true province of abolitionists is to vindicate the rights of man, the principles of eternal justice, and the laws of God; to apply truth to the hearts and consciences of the people; to expose the pro-slavery character of existing civil, political, and ecclesiastical institutions; and to clear their skirts from the guilt of oppression. Engaged in a great moral enterprise, they cannot possibly improve upon the apostolic mode of changing corrupt institutions, or abrogating unjust laws. The politics of the country are but the index of the moral condition of the people; and as the latter becomes rectified, so will the former.

What then? Are abolitionists to take no interest in the political bearings of their cause? May they go to the polls, and vote for pro-slavery candidates or allow, others to do so, and yet exert a moral influence? Is it meant that morality and politics ought not to be united together?

Every form of legislation, every alternation of politics, bears directly or indirectly upon the anti-slavery enterprise, and therefore necessarily challenges the attention of every intelligent abolitionist. But there is a wide difference between watching the moral symptoms of existing political parties, and establishing a rival party to take their place. Those parties are now enlisted on the side of slavery, because the people are recreant to the cause of liberty, and deem it no crime to make merchandize of the image of God. How shall the people be brought to repentance—by the potency of truth, or the power of the ballot-box? Votes are not arguments: the use of the elective franchise is not the exercise of moral suasion. It is TRUTH alone that redeems, and he who wields it with fidelity may succeed in changing the laws of an empire, though he be deprived of the elective franchise. Who have done so much for the anti-slavery cause as the women who have espoused it? Yet they cannot vote. Were not a pro-slavery Church and State both shaken by the moral might exerted

by those eminent laborers, SARAH M. and ANGELINA E. GRINKE ? Who can compute the reformatory influence of MARIA W. CHAPMAN, LYDIA MARIA CHILD, LUCRETIA MOTT, or ABBY KELLEY ? Who, among the great body of political abolitionists, are more *felt* in the strife against slavery ? Does FREDERICK DOUGLASS plead in vain, because he is only a runaway slave, and divested of all political power ? Are the HERALD OF FREEDOM and LIBERATOR of no service to the cause, because their editors cannot use the ballot-box ?

It is melancholy to see a disposition, on the part of the advocates of the "Liberty Party," to ridicule MORAL SUASION as a mere shadow, unless it be accompanied by political action. Some of them do not scruple to evince a most contemptuous spirit toward those who are never found at the polls. Judging from their manner of treating the subject, it seems to be a fundamental article in the creed of that party, that non-voting abolitionists can do little or nothing towards the abolition of slavery, and are to be ranked among those who say, and do not ; and that even those who give scattering votes against pro-slavery candidates are only wasting their strength. This is equally unjust and unphilosophical. Moral suasion—in other words, "the foolishness of preaching"—is the mode appointed by God to conquer error, and destroy the works of darkness. *This may exist wholly independent of physical or political power.* The apostles, martyrs and confessors of old, revolutionized kingdoms by the simple utterance of truth. If, then, there are those in our ranks who despise moral suasion, and ridicule it *per se* as a non-entity, it clearly proves that they do not walk by faith, but by sight, and that they trust in numbers, rather than in principles.

The friends of this new party deride that kind of moral suasion which *talks* against slavery, but *votes* for it at the ballot-box ; and they seem to claim for themselves singular sagacity and fidelity in making the discovery, that such conduct is grossly inconsistent. Indeed, they offer this as one of their reasons for forming another political organization. But this is only making a false issue. Such a prostitution of the elective franchise—such a building up and pulling down with the same hands—is as sternly condemned by those abolitionists who do not vote on any occasion, or who, being voters, are opposed to this new movement, as by the supporters of the "Liberty Party." *There is not an anti-slavery society or periodical in the land, which entertains any other opinion, or which has failed, in any political emergency, to insist*

upon abolition voters bearing a consistent testimony at the polls. Hence, it partakes of unfairness for the "Liberty Party" advocates to assume to be the only friends of anti-slavery consistency on the day of election. The great body of abolitionists professedly stand on the same ground. If any depart from the line of rectitude, it furnishes an occasion for regret and censure, but no good reason for hoisting a new political flag, under which only a portion of the friends of immediate emancipation can rally, and which must unavoidably create hurtful divisions in our ranks.

We are opposed to this party movement, moreover, because it necessarily binds the anti-slavery conscience, and attempts to settle questions, by mere assumption, which are foreign to our anti-slavery union. Its supporters, for instance, erect it as the standard by which to test the anti-slavery fidelity and usefulness of every abolitionist. Those who are opposed to it, either on the ground of principle or of a sound expediency, are sneered at as mere "abstract moral suasionists." Now, this is not a true standard, but a bold attempt, either by holding out the bribes of office, or by ridicule and denunciation, to put a fetter upon individual conscience. It does not allow every man to be fully persuaded in his own mind, but claims homage as a religious duty.

Again—it demands of abolitionists, not only that they shall regard slavery as a diabolical system, but that they shall also assent to the dogma, that the United States government is a divine institution. It is based upon the American Constitution, and is ready to take the oath of allegiance at the earliest opportunity; thus assuming that that instrument is in accordance with the precepts and requirements of Christianity. Now, whether this assumption in regard to the nature of the government, and the spirit of the Constitution, be right or wrong, we conceive that it is a question which abolitionists, as such, are not called upon to decide; nor can they do so, by any majority they may obtain, without destroying that bond of union which is essential to efficient action, and which brought together, in one association, at the commencement of our enterprise, individuals belonging to every religious sect and every political party. Certain it is, there are now many in our ranks, who regard the American government, as well as every other upheld by the sword, as essentially anti-christian. There are others, who, though not entertaining this view of government, are conscientiously prevented from voting, because, such is their view of some of its provisions, they

cannot agree to support the Constitution as it is; and what they are unable to do themselves, they are unwilling to vote to have another perform. There is, perhaps, a still larger number, who, without cherishing any of these peculiar sentiments, feel that it is a matter of choice, rather than of strict moral obligation, whether they shall withhold their suffrages, or resort to the polls. In their opinion, it is not wrong to vote—it is not wrong to refuse to vote. They regard it as a political privilege, but not as a moral duty. All these must necessarily be excluded from the “Liberty Party,” which sets forth voting as a religious obligation, and which (in the persons of its successful candidates) is ready to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution. Is such a party in accordance with the spirit or aim of the anti-slavery enterprise? Is it true that the anti-slavery platform is, after all, incapable of holding any but such as are ready to swear fealty to the Constitution, and believe in the necessity of forming a distinct political party? These questions are promptly answered in the negative by every unbiassed mind, as soon as they are propounded.

The “Liberty Party,” then, is nothing less than a radical change of the original anti-slavery organization. It receives to its embrace only such as can pronounce a certain political shibboleth. It regards as an “abstractionist,” the abolitionist who will not or cannot vote. It makes political action “the staff of accomplishment,” and the only remedy for slavery. It relies upon a majority, and not upon that power which, in such a conflict, enables one to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight. Of course, it disparages moral suasion, and represents it as comparatively worthless. “THE BALLOT-BOX” is its cloud by day, and its pillar of fire by night. In fine, it trusts in an arm of flesh, and not in the power of truth. Yet it claims to be divine, and to have God for its leader!

As originally constructed, the anti-slavery platform found no difficulty in containing all who were heartily opposed to slavery. How, for a time, “like kindred drops, they mingled into one!” How strong was the bond of union! how sublime the spectacle! how deep and solemn the impression made upon the public mind! No other test of membership was then required than a belief in the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, and the duty of immediate emancipation. No one was arraigned for his religious or his political sentiments, but every one was left to carry out his own principles, with all fidelity, in whatever connexion or situation he could conscientiously act. Memorable days! Alas!

in many respects, how great the change ! Sectarianism has since done its evil work of division—Priestcraft has fanned the flames of bigotry—and Politics, in the plausible guise of a “Liberty Party,” threaten to wreck the anti-slavery bark upon the shoals of human expediency and selfishness.

The candidate of this new party, for the Presidency of the United States, is JAMES G. BIRNEY, formerly of Kentucky. From the praise which has been so liberally bestowed upon this gentleman, for having emancipated his slaves at considerable pecuniary sacrifice, we have no wish to detract; nor would we forget any real service that he may have done (and he has done great service) in the anti-slavery enterprise. But we do not see how any real friend of the American Anti-Slavery Society, or to the integrity of our movement, can either consistently or properly cast a vote in favor of his election. The manner in which the official organ and depository of the Parent Society were wrested from it, by its former officers, (among whom was Mr. BIRNEY,) cannot be justified on the ground either of legal propriety or moral rectitude, and casts a deep stain upon the characters of those who did the deed. It was a flagrant usurpation of power, and a violation of good faith, of which, in our opinion, no man could be deliberately guilty, and yet deserve to be elevated by abolitionists to the highest office in the gift of the people.

We make this avowal with reluctance; but we see no other alternative presented to us, than either frankly to state why Mr. BIRNEY cannot be acceptable to a large portion of the abolitionists, (aside from third party considerations,) *or else to be censured for not giving him our active support.* He is put forth in a manner that challenges criticism, and with the title of “THE JUST.” He was just toward his slaves, we admit; he was most unjust toward the American Anti-Slavery Society, we assert. He has done what he could to destroy that Society, and to build upon its ruins a rival association. Can the faithful friends of that Society give him their confidence or support? Happily, they are not driven to the necessity to vote either for Mr. BIRNEY, or for a pro-slavery candidate. They can withhold their votes, or bestow them on some abolitionist, equally well qualified to fill the Presidential chair, *who has never faltered in the hour of trial.*

This leads us to remark upon another objectionable feature which marks the new, as well as each of the old political parties. It presupposes perfect unanimity among its members, in regard to the choice of candidates, and virtually makes it obligatory upon

all, *to support such as may be put in nomination*—no matter how objectionable the candidates may be, aside from the Anti-Slavery question, or in what manner that nomination was effected, whether by one, two, or at most a dozen individuals, as is usually the case. For a whig or a democrat to refuse to support the “regular candidate,” and to throw a scattering vote, is to lose caste, and to subject himself to denunciation. No political party can afford to be more tolerant—none can allow freedom of conscience and choice, without reproach or prejudice, to the individual member—and live!—for, in that case, it would be a mere rope of sand. The “Liberty Party” is necessarily in this predicament, and, for self-preservation, will be compelled to impose as heavy a yoke on the necks of its supporters.

But no one, especially he who is contending for universal emancipation, has a moral right to put himself into this bondage. To be a “party” man, under such circumstances, is to consent to be bound hand and foot, and made a mere tool in the hands of aspiring and selfish men. But it is not enough, surely, that a man declares himself to be an abolitionist, and therefore should be supported for office. There are other qualifications, that are equally indispensable to fit him to be entrusted with power, and he is to be estimated as a whole, not as a fragment. True, every member of a political party is at liberty, in the *abstract*, to vote as *he* thinks best; but, in reality, no such liberty is exercised—or, if exercised, it is not tolerated, but brings down upon the head of the daring schismatic a thunder-storm of indignation. “Our candidate, right or wrong,” is the party cry. “Scatteration” is but another name for dissolution. “United, we stand—divided, we fall!” How easily are judgment, reason, and conscience thus led into captivity!

The more this subject is contemplated by us, the deeper grows our conviction of the impolicy and danger of this political anomaly in our ranks; the more earnest we feel in our opposition to it; the higher is our estimate of the superior efficacy of disinterested moral suasion; and the greater is our joy to perceive no indication on the part of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or any of its auxiliaries, or of the American Society, to remove the old landmarks, or abandon the old paths.

Among the slaveholding states that have actively endeavored, from time to time, to put a check upon the growing spirit of manumission, and to expel the free colored population from its territory, Maryland stands infamously conspicuous. The laws which

she has enacted in favor of her atrocious scheme of African colonization,—though well adapted by their severity, if force can do it, to banish the objects of her dread,—have failed to produce the intended effect. In order, therefore, to quicken the malignity of public sentiment, and to render the condition of the free colored citizen still more deplorable, a State Colonization Convention was held in Baltimore, early in June last, under the guidance and at the suggestion of the religious (!) priesthood of that State. The meeting convened in the Light-street Methodist Episcopal Church, BISHOP WAUGH in the chair, and, before proceeding to enact its villany, was opened with prayer—as if to defy the Almighty, and to glory in its shame! The Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Methodist Protestant, Presbyterian, Congregational, and other religious bodies, were represented in the Convention by a leading minister from each, most of whom, it is said, were of northern birth, and of northern education. The following resolution, pregnant with the spirit of the first murderer, and virtually summoning the aid of the mob to compel the victims of southern despotism to escape for their lives, was adopted by this body without opposition:

“*Resolved*, That while it is most earnestly hoped that the free colored people of Maryland may see that their best and most permanent interest will be consulted by their emigration from this State; and while this Convention would deprecate any departure from the principle which makes colonization dependant upon the voluntary action of the free colored people themselves,—yet, if regardless of what has been done to provide them with an asylum, they continue to persist in remaining in Maryland, in the hope of enjoying here an equality of social and political rights—THEY OUGHT TO BE SOLEMNLY WARNED, that, in the opinion of this Convention, a day must arrive, *when circumstances that cannot be controlled*, and which are now maturing, WILL DEPRIVE THEM OF THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE, and leave them no alternative but removal.”

Here is the mask voluntarily torn from the face of the colonization demon, and how terrible are the features which it reveals! What the effect of this movement will be on the minds of the free colored inhabitants of Maryland, time alone can determine. We trust they will never allow themselves to be expatriated, but rather go unhesitatingly into the fires of martyrdom, and be consumed to ashes. The advice of the *New-York Colored American* to them is worthy of the best days of the American Revolution:

“Let the spirit of a Hancock, a Leonidas, and of a Toussaint L'Ouverture prevail; let a Spartan band be found, who will stick by the ship, even though the tug of war should come, and determine to die upon the

soil. Let not a soul leave; stay by, and meet the hour like men, *calmly, peaceably, firmly*; it will work your own, and the salvation of millions. They will never attempt, only three to one, as they are, a removal by force; they cannot do it, and nobody will become accessory to so foul a deed, as to come in and give them aid. Besides, humanity and God are against them.

We would say again to our brethren, could we reach them, *stick to the ship*, and die where you were born, rather than be driven from your country by the wicked spirit of Colonization. These men, ministers and bishops though they be, have got to brave the rolling surges of the human mind, and stand the rebukes of humanity and of humanity's God. They will not be able to stand."

In consequence of this alarming procedure, the colored citizens of New-York, sympathizing with their oppressed brethren in Maryland, immediately held a large and spirited meeting in the Asbury Church, and unanimously adopted the following among other equally decisive resolutions:

"Whereas, we, the colored inhabitants of the city of New-York, having, with our brethren throughout the country, from the *earliest* period of the "American Colonization Society," *with entire unanimity*, expressed our opposition and abhorrence of the doctrines, measures, and influence of the scheme of expatriation, viewing it as the main prop of American caste and the prolific source "whence flow most of the various proscriptions and oppressions under which we groan and suffer"—we therefore, in solemn meeting assembled, with increased conviction of the accuracy of our views on this subject, deliberately and unanimously reiterate our protest against the wicked scheme; therefore

Resolved, That notwithstanding present, anticipated, or threatened adverse influences, a regard to our own permanent interest, and that of our children; fidelity to our enslaved countrymen, love to the great principles of the American revolution, secured by the blood of our patriotic fathers, and a just appreciation of our holy religion, clearly indicate our religious duty as a people to live, labor, and die upon the soil of our birth, confidently committing our cause and its final issue to the God of the oppressed, who "maketh the wrath of man to praise him, and restraineth the remainder of wrath."

Resolved, That the resolution of the Maryland Colonization Convention, intimating a forcible removal, from their native State, of 60,000 colored citizens of Maryland, is the legitimate consequence of Colonization principles, and the legitimate offspring of the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That we therefore, respectfully, earnestly, and solemnly entreat Christian ministers to abstain from preaching, and Christians to abstain from contributing for the Colonization Society, on the 4th day of July, or any other time."

Spirited addresses were delivered on the occasion by Rev. T. S. Wright, Junius C. Morel, of Pa., Rev. S. E. Cornish, P. Gallego, of Toronto, U. C. J. J. Zuille, P. H. Reason, Dr. J. McCune Smith, P. A. Bell, and C. L. Reason.

A meeting of the colored citizens of Albany was held on the 28th of June, for the same purpose, at which the following resolutions were adopted:

“Whereas, We have ever viewed the course taken by the American Colonization Society and its auxiliaries, as one tending to paralyze the happiness of the colored inhabitants of the United States, and render them aliens in their own country; and whereas, we *as a people* have, from the commencement of their unholy scheme, given our united voices as a protest against them and their movements; Therefore,

Resolved, That we, the colored people of Albany, consider the spirit expressed in the resolutions adopted by the Maryland Colonization Convention, threatening our brethren of that State with expulsion, as a spirit tending not only to raise indignation in the breast of every *true* American, and to instil in their hearts the love of country, but also to exert them to make their cause God’s cause, and manfully contend for their rights as freemen.

Resolved, That as some of the leading men of this city have called upon the ministers of our churches to have collections taken up on the anniversary of American Independence, for the benefit of the American Colonization Society—we do earnestly and solemnly beseech all *Christian* ministers, who believe that “God is no respecter of persons,” to abstain from advocating the cause of the said Society on the coming 4th of July.

Addresses were made by Messrs. Storrs, Noble, Freeman, and W. P. Johnson.”

These proceedings reflect the highest credit upon the intelligence, wisdom, firmness, and patriotism of the free colored citizens, and appeal to the good sense, humanity, and christian feelings of all who claim to fear God, and honor the workmanship of his hands.

Colonization thrives only on persecution. It hails every fresh outbreak of violence against the objects of its hypocritical regard as a timely windfall. In proof of this, look at the manner in which the Maryland Colonization Journal, edited by James Hall, General Agent of the State Society, notices the terrible proslavery riot which took place in Cincinnati, in October last, against the inoffensive colored inhabitants of that city. After copying an account of the riot, from the Cincinnati papers, it says—“We think it criminal to conceal those facts, which, as they occur, go to prove *the vanity and utter futility* of the hope that the white and

colored people of the United States can live together in peace and comfort under existing circumstances." It does not call for any change of these "existing circumstances," but, in a strain of disgusting hypocrisy, adds—"Most deeply do we deplore the occurrences in Cincinnati. They are disgraceful to that city. They are a stigma upon our free institutions. Most willingly would we have closed our eyes to them, or drawn a veil over them that would have concealed them forever." To all this, it adds a—*BUT*—as follows:—"But, unjustifiable and disgraceful as they were, *they were warnings too solemn to be disregarded.* The outrage was the result of a feeling which exists, to control which, the law was, in this instance, powerless, and which, though producing acts of violence and oppression, is, nevertheless, *an agent whose presence must be recognized and considered,* in looking upon the situation of the country, and the two classes of population by which it is occupied." It then refers to the doings of the Maryland Convention, and with cool effrontery asks—"Did not the Convention, in the warning which they then gave, *speaking the words of the purest prophecy,* as illustrated by the events in Cincinnati; and did they not do their duty in speaking them?" Finally, it adds—"We know that our paper finds its way into the hands of the free people of color, and we therefore, in the most emphatic manner, urge upon them to *take the warning* of the third resolution to *heart*—to watch events as they occur, so as to test its truth, and to act accordingly. If they do so, they will become as well assured as we are, that *this country is but a temporary home of their race.*"

This is the sympathy dealt out by the Colonization Society to a people who are peeled, neted out, and trodden under foot, and for whose welfare it professes to cherish the liveliest regard!

What more can the foul spirit of slavery demand at its hands? What more can lawless persecutors and fiendish mobocrats desire, to encourage them in their brutality? How consummate is the wickedness which can first stimulate the vile and unprincipled to attack the defenceless colored people, in order to effect their expulsion to Africa, and then claim for itself the credit of uttering "the words of the purest prophecy!"

The New-York Sun exults in the Cincinnati riot as tending to "A GOOD RESULT." Its language is,—“It is stated (falsely stated, it might have added) in the Cincinnati Gazette, that in consequence of the recent terrible riots in that city, a number of the oldest and most respectable of the colored people—those who have property, and are of good and peaceable habits—are mak-

ing arrangements to dispose of their effects and remove to Liberia. *That is the best thing they can do.* We have long been satisfied that *the free blacks should seek a residence in Africa.* That is misdirected philanthropy which would induce their stay in this country."

At the ninth anniversary of the New-York State Colonization Society, held in May last, the Rev. Dr. Milnor uttered the following disgraceful sentiments:

"We are told, set the slave free—secure to him the rights of the free, and clothe him with the privileges of the free. Well, set him free, and what shall be the result? We have it demonstrated before us. There are in our own land 200,000 of these free colored men; in the West Indies there are 800,000 of them. Is theirs the condition which we wish to secure to the colored man? I ask, *are they men?* In many important respects they are, but, after all, is their condition enviable? Is it such as the philanthropist would desire to behold? And can this condition be better here? Are there not insuperable obstacles to its amelioration? Are we willing to receive them to all the freedom and familiarity of an equal condition? Are we willing that our daughters should become their wives? Are we willing to receive them to the stations of honor? Do we desire to see them in our halls of legislation?

It may be charged to an unworthy prejudice. But, however unreasonable, it exists, and while it exists, it will rear an impassable barrier to his progress. Can we be persuaded from it? We may indeed be censured, but can the young lady be persuaded out of her dislike to the young colored man? After every effort, it *will* continue. But can this boon never be obtained? Yes, it can. Though not here, there is a spot where they may be had; where liberty and equality are possible—where there are no reasons existing for the prejudice which here is invincible. In Africa, his injuries may find redress. And it is one of the loveliest aspects (!) of this society, that, with a practical philanthropy, it secures to the colored man the possession of his rights in the place where only they can be enjoyed, and by the means which alone can be effectual."(!!!)

And this vulgar appeal to prejudice—this artful attempt to stir up the baser passions of the soul—this bold denial of the equality of the human race—this impious rejection of the requirements and duties of the christian religion—by a Doctor of Divinity, all under the guise of necessity, philanthropy, and piety!!

Surely, if the free colored population of this country did not feel the strongest abhorrence for the scheme of expatriation, and doubt the philanthropy of those who would exile them from their native land, the argument that "they are an inferior race," would seem to be irresistible. But, ignorant and oppressed as they

may be, they are too free and too intelligent to be seduced away to the pestilent coast of Africa.

Appended to the memorable Protest against the American Colonization Society, in 1833, by WILLIAM WILBERFORCE and several of the most eminent abolitionists in Great Britain, was the name of THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, the distinguished successor of Mr. WILBERFORCE in Parliament. Since the formation of "The African Civilization Society," in England, at the head of which is Mr. BUXTON, the friends of the Colonization Society have attempted to create an impression that he is no longer opposed to its operations. The knowledge of this fact has drawn from him a letter, addressed "to the Rev. R. R. GURLEY," in the course of which he frankly says:

"I hardly need tell you that I am, in the fullest sense of the term, an 'immediate abolitionist,' that I conscientiously believe that man can have no right to property in man, and that the restoration to freedom can in every country be effected, without permanent injury to either party, and greatly to the eventual benefit of both master and slave. With this confession of my faith on this subject, how can I be expected to unite with a Society, which, by the mouth of its best advocates, and in almost all its public declarations, if it does not justify, yet palliates the iniquity of slavery? which, allowing the system to be an evil, soothes the conscience of the slave owner by maintaining it to be a necessary evil, obstructs the efforts of the abolitionists, by declaring immediate abolition to be impossible, which diverts attention from the great principles of truth on the subject, and, by holding out a hope of emancipation, which too obviously will take centuries to realize, tends practically to rivet the fetters of the slave? Further, I am of opinion, that the strong line of demarcation attempted to be drawn between white and black, is unjust, and not accordant with the apostle's declaration that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men.' How can I then support a Society which acknowledges," excuses, and fosters this spirit of caste?

Again, I apprehend that your Society, though doubtless unintentionally on the part of many of its members, has practically proved an instrument of oppression to the free blacks in your land. In order to induce them to emigrate, various methods, more or less coercive, are resorted to. You have had every opportunity of displaying to them the advantages of the plan, yet throughout the Union they refuse to embrace it, or do so with extreme reluctance; they persist in regarding Liberia rather as a place of exile than a desired home, and prefer their claim to live as free citizens in America. But I have still another objection: were the free people of color even indifferent, and as willing to go as to stay, I question whether, regarding the interest of the slave, it is a justifiable measure to remove them. Those who have escaped from bondage ought to be the nat-

ural protectors of those of their color who still remain in slavery ; and I think it is hard to press a plan to withdraw from those who have so few friends, their natural allies and ablest champions. The arguments employed for your scheme are, in themselves, I must own, repulsive to me. Your language is, ‘ Be abolition a duty or not, the slave States will not abolish slavery—cease, then, your struggle for the slave, employ your benevolence for the free. Whether the feeling against the colored man be a prejudice or not, it is insurmountable. Assist, therefore, to remove him to another country.’

I grant that slavery and prejudice are now triumphant ; but I deny that they will always remain so. It is my conviction that ‘ Truth, by its own sinews, will prevail,’ and that its being borne down for the present, is no argument why the efforts of its champions should be relaxed ; but, on the contrary, the strongest argument why they should be redoubled. I cannot take lower ground than this, and therefore it is that I cannot join the Colonization Society.”

These views are as honorable to this distinguished philanthropist, as they are condemnatory of the Society which he refuses to join, and which (in the language of the Protest of 1833) is “ an obstruction to the progress of liberty throughout the world.”

Among the remarkable events of the past year, the sudden death of WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, in the short space of thirty days after his inauguration as President of the United States, deserves to be chronicled in the pages of this Report. It furnishes another striking instance of the insanity of worldly ambition, and the emptiness of human aggrandizement. To secure his election, he bowed his knee to “ the dark spirit of slavery,” and turned a deaf ear to the cries of his manacled countrymen. Only a few days before his inauguration, he visited the city of Richmond, in Virginia, and made an address to a crowded assembly in the street, in the course of which, (according to the Richmond Whig,) he asked, “ with increased energy and vigor”—

“ How could a Virginian who sees in every thing around him the reminiscences of his youth, be an abolitionist ? How could a Virginian, born and bred on the Lower James River, born in a house noted for some memorable incidents in our Revolutionary struggle, be an abolitionist ? How could a Virginian, whose sires received many distinguished tokens of confidence and esteem at the hands of this virtuous old Commonwealth, be an abolitionist ? How could a Virginian be so irreverent to the ashes of his honored ancestors, as to be an abolitionist ? Could such a Virginian be called an abolitionist by another Virginian, and that other a true-hearted Virginian, and sound to the core ? The thing was impossible. The bosom could not be free from taint that harbored such a suspicion.”

Having selected FRANCIS GRANGER, of New-York, to fill the office of Postmaster General—

“ He alluded to the report of Mr. Granger being an abolitionist. He said he had never been so foolish as to ask him whether he was an abolitionist or not—knowing, as he did, his public life and history. But Mr. Granger had come to him the day before he left Washington, and told him that an article in a Richmond paper, which admitted the possibility of his being an abolitionist, had just fallen under his eye. He (Mr. G.) desired him (Gen. H.) when he got to Richmond, to say to the editors of that paper, that he was not only no abolitionist, but he should expect Gen. H. to eject him from office should he ever become one.”

How admonitory are the facts of history ! The Presidential despiser of the friends of impartial liberty was suddenly summoned from his high station to the bar of God, and the servile GRANGER, after a brief occupancy of his office at the head of the Post Office Department, virtually compelled to retire, by the very power which he had sold his manhood to propitiate ! A slaveholder, in the person of JOHN TYLER, of Virginia, now occupies the Presidential chair ! Of course, the cause of bleeding humanity has nothing to hope, but every thing to fear, from his administration. How poignant should be the regret of those erring abolitionists, who, bewildered by the mists of political excitement, and seduced by the wiles of human expediency, in an evil hour gave their suffrages for “ Tippecanoe, and Tyler too ! ”

The President of the United States is a slaveholder ! He was elected by an overwhelming majority of the people ! Was it accidental or unpremeditated on their part ? No—he was the *sixth* slaveholder whom they had elevated to the same high station ! What, then, must be their real character ? It is an act of political profligacy, and an exhibition of religious hypocrisy, which cannot find a parallel in any other age or nation ; because in no other age has so much light been shed abroad, and in no other nation have the inalienable rights of man been so solemnly asserted as of divine origin. A slaveholder is, *ipso facto*, disqualified to rule, or to hold office, in a free republic. A people truly free, and sincerely attached to liberty, could never entrust him with power, or extend to him their confidence. They would regard his nomination as an outrage on their moral sense, and an impeachment of their political honesty. The fact that such a man is now President of the United States, demonstrates to the world that the American people have abjured their Declaration of Independence, and, under the mask of republicanism and Christianity,

are disposed not merely to tolerate, but heartily to approve, and signally to honor, the worst form of tyranny ever devised by the ambition or the wickedness of the human mind. It is, however, confidently to be hoped, that JOHN TYLER is the last proprietor of "human flesh," who will be allowed to act as the Chief Magistrate of this Union, through a regenerated public sentiment. Apparently impressed with this conviction, the South seems determined to provide for the future by a bold stroke of policy—no less than the connexion of Texas at the present session of Congress! In the late message of the President occurs the following significant paragraph:

"The United States cannot but take a deep interest in whatever relates to this young, but growing Republic [Texas.] Settled principally by emigrants [revolutionary adventurers] from the United States, we have the happiness to know, that the great principle of civil liberty (!) are those destined to flourish, under wise institutions and wholesome laws (!)—and that, through its example, another evidence is to be afforded of the capacity of popular institutions to advance the prosperity, happiness, and permanent glory of the human race." (!)

This monstrous panegyric means a great deal more than meets the eye.

To many—since the signal defeat of the slaveholding power in its first attempt to annex Texas to the Union—it may seem like a distempered imagination to demand fresh vigilance on the part of the people of the North, in relation to this subject, and to urge a renewal of efforts to avert this impending calamity; but all such are ignorant of slaveholding devices. Without Texas, the doom of slavery is sealed—with it, the fate of the nation may also be regarded as sealed. It is, then, a question of life and death. If the North shall consent to the incorporation of Texas with the Union,—thus adding, at once, five or six new slave States to those which now rule the country with a rod of iron,—it will be the sure premonitory symptoms of the approaching destruction of the republic. Let her, in no case, consent to such an arrangement. Let the South be distinctly warned, that, Union or no Union, Texas shall never become an integral portion of the United States.

A startling sensation has been given to the northern mind, and a strong impetus to the anti-slavery cause, by a speech delivered in U. S. House of Representatives, in February last, by Mr. GIDDINGS, of Ohio, upon the proposition of Mr. THOMPSON, of South Carolina, to appropriate "one hundred thousand dollars for the removal, subsistence and benefit (!) of such of the Seminole

Chiefs and Warriors as may surrender for emigration." Mr. Giddings asserts, and very conclusively proves, that the Florida war had its origin in attempts *on the part of the Federal Government* to sustain slavery in Georgia, by a treaty which compelled the Creek Indians to pay for slaves that had escaped from that State into their territory, forty or fifty years prior to the date of that treaty!

"Nor were they compelled merely to pay for slaves that lived or had taken up their residence with the Indians ; but they were charged with the value of the slave when shown to have left his master, without proof that he was with the Indians, or had any existence in their country. I speak upon the authority of Mr. Wirt, late Attorney General, as expressed in Executive doc. No. 128, first session 20th Congress. Nor were these abuses unaccompanied with others of equally flagrant character. Mr. Wirt, in the same communication, assures the President that the price allowed for a slave was *two or three times his real value*. Yet, after paying for all the slaves that could be shown to have left their master, at two or three times their real value, together with other *property* taken or destroyed by the Seminoles prior to 1802, it was found that the whole amounted to but \$101,000, leaving in the hands of government \$149,000 belonging to the Indians. This money, however, was not returned to the Indians, but was retained by government until 1834, when the owners of the fugitive slaves petitioned Congress that it might be divided among them. This petition was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and the chairman, an honorable member from Georgia, (Mr. Gilmer,) reported in favor of dividing the money among the owners of the fugitive slaves, as a compensation for the *offspring which the slaves would have born, had they remained in bondage*. This plan, which I think sets at perfect defiance all Yankee calculations, was rejected by Congress. But a bill was subsequently introduced, providing for a division of this money among the owners of those slaves by way of *interest*, in direct violation of the treaty, and notwithstanding they had previously received two or three times the real value of their slaves ; and this bill soon passed into a law. This was done in 1834. These slaves had most of them united with the Seminoles or runaways in the peninsula of Florida, and the Creeks, from whom the Seminoles had formerly separated, having paid to the people of Georgia two or three times the value of those slaves, now claimed them as their property. The Creeks had mostly gone west of the Mississippi, and their agents were in Florida demanding these negroes of the Seminoles. The Seminoles, in the meantime, it is said, had intermarried with the negroes, and stood connected with them in all the relations of domestic life. If they emigrated west, their wives and children would be taken from them by the Creeks as slaves ; if they remained in Florida, they must defend themselves against the army of the United States. With them, sir, it was *war* on one side, and *slavery* on the other. This state of things was entirely

brought about by the efforts of our government to obtain pay for the fugitive slaves of Georgia.”

Having exposed the remote and principal cause of the war, Mr. GIDDINGS proceeds to state some of the more proximate and immediate causes:—

“On the 21st May, 1836, this House adopted a resolution, calling upon the then President for ‘information respecting the causes of the Florida war.’ On the 3d June, the President transmitted to the House sundry papers relating to that subject; among which may be found an address or petition of nearly one hundred gentlemen, said to be among the principal inhabitants of Florida, calling on the President to interpose the power of the General Government for the purpose of securing them in the possession of their slaves. These gentlemen, speaking of the Seminole Indians, say:

‘While this indomitable people continue where they now are, the owners of slaves in our Territory, and even in the States contiguous, cannot for a moment, in any thing like security, enjoy this kind of *property*.’

This was a plain, direct, and palpable request for the President to interpose *the strong arm of the nation in behalf of slavery*. Nor did the President remain deaf to such a request: but he immediately endorsed an order on the back of the petition, directing the Secretary of War to make inquiry, and, if the charges be found true, ‘to direct the Indians to prepare *forthwith* to remove west of the Mississippi.’ Soon after this, the treaty of Payne’s Landing, having remained nearly two years unnoticed by the President, was sent to the Senate for their sanction; and every preparation was made to compel the Indians, by physical force, to remove west of the Mississippi. A correspondence was carried on with the officers of our army, and all the military force that could well be brought to Florida, was concentrated there for the purpose of compelling the Indians, at the point of the bayonet, to emigrate. This was done *without even laying the subject before Congress, or asking for any legislative sanction*.”

This is, indeed, a most extraordinary revelation—troops mustered and a war declared against the Indians, by order of the President, without the concurrence of Congress—and all to protect slave property! But more:

“In a letter dated Jan. 26, 1834, Governor Duval says: ‘The slaves belonging to the Indians must be made to fear for themselves before they will cease to influence the minds of their masters.’ ‘You may be assured (says he) that the first step towards the emigration of these Indians must be the breaking up of the runaway slaves and outlawed Indians.’ Thus we are informed that the war must be first waged against *fugitive slaves*—for the reason that they influenced the minds of their masters in favor of *liberty*. In other words, the war must be directed against the

right of a slave to express his mind to his Indian master on the subject of *human rights*."

On the 9th of January, 1835, General Thompson, an accredited officer of the National Government, advises the Government "that an expedition should be set on foot for the double purpose of driving the Indians within their boundary and to capture negroes, many of whom it is believed are runaway slaves." This advice was subsequently followed, and the army put in motion to *capture negroes and slaves!* Mr. GIDDINGS adds:

"J. W. Harris, disbursing agent of Government, in a letter to the Commissary General of Subsistence, dated December 30, 1836, says: 'I would respectfully suggest that you recommend to the Honorable Secretary of War, that the annuity due to the hostile Indians be retained to defray the expenses of this war; and that the slaves who shall be captured, whom I believe to have been generally active instigators to our present troubles, be sold at public sale, and the proceeds appropriated to the same object.' This is the first official proposition that has come to my knowledge, for the Government to enter into competition with the "*negro stealers*," by capturing and selling slaves. At the time this suggestion was made, we were engaged in open war with these people, who had sought liberty in the wilds of Florida. If they were captured, they would be *prisoners of war*; and for us to sell them as slaves, would be as much a violation of our national honor as it would have been for them to have sold, as slaves, such of our people as they were able to capture."

Mr. GIDDINGS goes on to prove, from official documents, that the people of Florida supposed that the great object of the war was to aid the slaveholders in capturing and recovering their slaves! The citizens of St. Augustine and others, "in public meeting assembled, for themselves, and in behalf of the inhabitants of East Florida generally," most solemnly protested against any cessation of hostilities upon other terms than of *GETTING BACK THEIR SLAVES*, or, rather, of permitting them to enter the Indian country, to obtain such as they might choose to claim as their property!

"With these people, the great, important, and absorbing subject appears to have been *slaves*, not *peace*. Indeed, we have their solemn protest against extinguishing the flames of war, or stopping the torrent of blood which had so long flowed, until they should have their slaves secured to them. They were unwilling that the treasure of the nation should cease to be poured out until they should have their fellow-men brought back into bondage."

But here is, if possible, a still more humiliating development:

"In a letter of Gen. Jesup to Colonel Warren, speaking of the Seminoles, he says: 'Their negroes, cattle, and horses, *will belong to the corps*

by which they are captured.' (!!!) This order bears date on the 3d of August, 1837, and may be found at page 4, of the documents communicated to this House by the Secretary of War on the 27th day of February, 1829. I think that history will record this as the first general order issued by the commander of an American army in which the catching of slaves is held out as *an incentive to military duty*. I mention this fact, and bring it to the consideration of the committee with feelings of deep mortification. As an American, I feel humbled at this act, which cannot be viewed by the civilized world otherwise than dishonorable to our arms and nation. That this officer, entrusted with the command of our army and the honor of our flag, should appeal to the cupidity, the desire of plunder, and the worst of human passions, in order to stimulate his men to effort, is, I think, to be regretted by men of all parties, in all sections of our country. Our national flag which floated in proud triumph at Saratoga, which was enveloped in a blaze of glory at Monmouth and Yorktown, seems to have been prostituted in Florida to the base purpose of leading on an organized company of 'negro-catchers.' Sir, no longer is 'our country' the battle cry of our army in their advance to victory; but *slaves* has become the watchword to inspire them to effort. No longer does the war-worn veteran, amid the battle's rage, think of his country's glory, and nerve his arm in behalf of *freedom*; but with eagle eyes he watches the wavering ranks of the enemy, and as the smoke rises from the battle-field, he plunges amid their fleeing cohorts to seize upon the sable foe, *that he may make him his future slave.*"

Mr. GIDDINGS next proceeds to show that THE NATION has been made to deal in slaves—to become the owner of slaves; that the late administration has trafficked in human flesh; and that the funds of government, drawn from the pockets of northern free laborers, have been paid for the capture of fugitive slaves, and the purchase of slaves captured from the Seminole Indians! "Order No. 175," dated at Tampa Bay, September 6, 1837, reads as follows:

"1. The Seminole negroes captured by the army will be taken on ACCOUNT OF GOVERNMENT, AND HELD SUBJECT TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

2. The sum of eight thousand dollars will be paid to the Creek chiefs and warriors, by whom they were captured, or who were present at the capture, in full for their claim to them.

3. To induce the Creek Indians to take alive, and not destroy the negroes of citizens who had been captured by the Seminoles, a reward was promised them for all they should secure. They captured and secured thirty-five, *who have been restored to their owners.* The owners have paid nothing, but the promise to the Indians must be fulfilled. The sum of twenty dollars will be allowed to them for each, from the public fund.

4. Lieutenant Searle is charged with the execution of this order."

On the 7th October, this order of General Jesup was *approved by the Secretary of War!* Thus the American people, in their national capacity, became the purchasers of human beings as property.

“This fund, most of it, was collected in the free States, and coming from the hard earnings of *free whites*, was appropriated for the purchase of Indian slaves, and of those who had sought freedom amid the swamps and everglades of Florida : *while our most vital interests at the North are abandoned*, and even the implements necessary to carry on our harbor improvements *have been sold*, and the money thus obtained, placed in the common fund, and perhaps *paid for the purchase of these slaves at the South.*”

In a letter, dated Tampa Bay, 25th May, directed to Lieutenant Colonel Harney, General Jesup says :

“If you see Powell (Oceola,) tell him I shall send out and take all the negroes who belong to the white people. And he must not allow the Indian negroes to mix with them. *Tell him I am sending to Cuba for bloodhounds to trail them :* and I intend to hang every one of them who does not come in.”

“Here,” says Mr. GIDDINGS, “we have another important piece of intelligence.”

“The expenditure of \$5,000 for bloodhounds in Cuba was not, as has been supposed, for the purpose of trailing Indians. In this letter we have it officially announced, that they were sent for and obtained for the purpose of *catching fugitive slaves*. I desire the people of this nation to understand distinctly, that *they are taxed for the purpose of maintaining and supporting slavery in the slave States ;* that their treasure has been appropriated directly and publicly to that purpose ; that our army—many of whose officers and soldiers were bred in the free States, and in the love of liberty—has been employed, by order of the Commanding General, *in pursuing and capturing fugitive slaves*. Nor is that all. *The free-men of the North are taxed for the purpose of buying bloodhounds to act in concert with our army, in this degrading and disgusting warfare.*”

But this is not all. “Near FORTY MILLIONS of the national treasury have been swallowed up in this most unfortunate contest”—and the war still goes on—a war to protect and perpetuate SLAVERY !

If facts like these, authenticated as they are by governmental papers, do not cause a thrill of indignation and horror in the breasts of the people of the free States, and rouse them up to demand the immediate annihilation of the slave system, or an entire separation from it, then are they resolved on hurrying the nation down to irremediable ruin.

During the unparalleled political excitement, which terminated in the election of Gen. HARRISON to the Presidency, great efforts were made, on the part of the leading whig politicians and journals at the North, to secure the elective power of the abolitionists, by assuring them that a change in the administration would result in the repeal of the odious GAG-LAW, and the furtherance of their enterprise—as well as in giving relief to the whole country from its heavy pecuniary embarrassments. Suffering in common with their fellow-citizens in their business,—anxious for the defeat of the “democratic” Pharaoh, “the Northern man with Southern principles,” MARTIN VAN BUREN,—and believing, with astonishing credulity, the representations which were so artfully held out to them,—a considerable portion of the abolitionists were induced to cast their suffrages in favor of WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON and JOHN TYLER, and thus helped to achieve one of the greatest political victories on record. But the sequel has shown, that nothing is gained by sacrificing principle to expediency.

At the extra session of Congress, which was held in June last, to accomplish the impracticable task of obtaining national prosperity without legislating against slavery, that voluble and boisterous declaimer, Mr. WISE, of Virginia, was prompt to move, that the rules of the last House be adopted *pro tempore*, and that a committee be chosen to revise the rules, and report at a future day. This motion Mr. ADAMS as promptly moved to amend, by excepting the 21st rule, and rescinding the same. An animated and highly feverish debate followed. The southern whigs were generally zealous for THE GAG, while the northern whigs evidently desired to accomplish its repeal. In the course of his remarks, Mr. ADAMS alleged that the 21st rule was “a measure of the last administration, and that either that administration was the tool of those whigs who offered and supported it, or that those whigs were the tools of that administration.” In reply, Mr. WISE said—

“There was no evidence whatever of the truth of this assertion. That rule was brought forward by his friend from Maryland, (Mr. Cost Johnson,) a *sound Whig*, and soon based on a proposition first offered by him (Mr. Wisc.) *It was supported by all the Southern Whigs*. The gentleman calls on the whig administration to repeal the measure. I do not know what the gentleman means by the administration. But if he means the Executive, [i. e. John Tyler,] I will say for him that he is *utterly opposed to the discussion of abolition questions in this body*: and, if he means

the whig majority here, I hope he will find them equally disposed to keep this fire-brand out of this House."

In the opinion of Mr. WISE, the adoption of THE GAG was essential to prevent the North from *oppressing* the South (!)—for, without enjoying the right of petition, the abolitionists (he said) "possessed already ample means enough for annoying the South, with their schools, and books, and lecturers, and associations, and friends"! These, however, he professed to regard as "*a few DANGEROUS FANATICS, unsupported, unbacked, discountenanced by the virtue, and intelligence, and patriotism of the North;—fanatics, few and insignificant in numbers, but potential, it is true, in wealth, in zeal, in the pulpit, in the press, and in the schools—frowned upon by the great majority in the North for agitating this most dangerous topic of abolishing our southern institutions; of applying the brand of the incendiary and the knife of domestic insurrection.*" This compliment to "the great majority in the North" is, in fact, a most severe condemnation of all those who stand aloof from the anti-slavery enterprise, on any pretext whatever. It proves what abolitionists have constantly affirmed, that there is no neutral ground in this great conflict. To the ludicrous yet grave inquiry of Mr. WISE, "What institution of the North do we of the South threaten or attack?" the retort may be given,—What institution of the North can the South find to threaten or attack? * In one breath, he regarded the abolitionists as

* In the course of the discussion, the following scene took place between Mr. RAYNER and Mr. ADAMS :—Suppose, said Mr. R., turning to Mr. Adams, that petitions, day after day, were pouring in, praying that the manufactures of the North were a nuisance, would the gentleman receive the petitions?

Mr. Adams—Yes, I would.

Well, then, said Mr. Rayner, suppose petitions were presented from the Catholics, asking Congress to prohibit the use of meat, or from the Jews, asking them to abolish the Christian Religion, or from Fanny Wright and her followers, asking Congress to abolish the institution of marriage; would the gentleman receive such petitions?

Mr. Adams, with great animation, exclaimed, "Why, the most damning feature of slavery is, that it DOES abolish the institution of marriage. How then could I have any more objection to receive such petitions, than I have to the perpetuation of slavery, *which destroys the sacred institution of marriage*?"—(cries of "order," "sit down.")

Mr. Adams. Yes, it does abolish the institution of marriage, and I have seen the effects of it; yes, I have seen the——

Here a general call for order commenced, and Mr. Adams resumed his

utterly insignificant on the score of numbers; and in the next, he stated that more than a million of abolition petitions had been received, from time to time, by Congress. He insisted that the House could not be organized, “until the hydra of abolition was crushed.” No business should be taken up, with his consent, until this “PARAMOUNT question” was disposed of. With true slaveholding sagacity he declared that, to the South, “it was a vital question—*far surpassing, in importance, all the financial and currency questions of the day.*” As a proof of his own insane zeal and energy, in defence of slavery, it is stated that, though in feeble health, he spoke six hours—i. e. from 12 to 6 o’clock—without failing, or faltering, or a moment’s relief! Among his numerous complaints was one respecting a case which had occurred in Boston, where a white man was held to bail for *unlawfully* taking back a runaway slave to North Carolina. Mr. PARMENTER, of Massachusetts, obsequiously explained, that, in the case referred to, the Grand Jury refused to find a bill! Mr. WISE said he was glad to hear of it. The terrors of this chivalric gentleman seemed to be excessive throughout his wordy harangue. He said that the old mode of giving security to the South, by having a majority of slaveholders on the Committee of the District of Columbia, would now avail nothing. He charged the chairman of the Post Office Committee with being an abolitionist, and exclaimed—“Sir, here the South is in danger from receiving publications!” Terrible calamity! Surely,

“The thief doth fear each bush an officer.”

The same accusation was brought against the chairman of the Judiciary Committee. “Are we not again in danger here?” said Mr. WISE. But this was not all. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations! This was frightfully portentous! Finally, he referred to the career of Wilberforce on the Slave Trade, and also, to the Catholic Emancipation Act, to show the danger of a majority remaining inactive, and affording only a dead inertia, while a minority, however small, were constantly exerting themselves, and keeping up agitating, year after year, before the public mind. “In such a state of things, THE MINORITY WERE SURE TO GAIN THEIR POINT, *as certainly as that the solid marble would wear away by the constant running of the stream.*”

seat, saying that if the gentleman was afraid to receive answers, *he should take care to ask no questions.*

Let this declaration animate the hearts of those (if any such there be) who are beginning to despair of the triumph of the anti-slavery enterprise.

Mr. KING, of Georgia, read various anti-slavery documents to the House, (a singular mode of suppressing intelligence !) showing the object of the abolitionists, their numbers, resources, &c., and “the danger to be apprehended from their machinations.” If abolition petitions should be received, and discussion tolerated, “the southern members would be obliged to leave their seats.” What they would next be obliged to do, he did not state.

The question on Mr. ADAMS’s amendment was agreed to : yeas 112, nays 104. So the 21st rule was excepted, and the resolution, as amended, was adopted—123 to 91.

The motion of a Virginia slaveholder, to renew THE GAG, having failed, a northern vassal, on the next day, volunteered to do battle in behalf of the “peculiar institution,” as a radical “democrat”! Mr. INGERSOLL, of Pennsylvania, brought forward a motion to *reconsider the vote*, by which Mr. ADAMS’s motion to except the 21st rule, when the rules were adopted, was agreed to. He very profoundly observed, that the abolition question came from Great Britain, and was not an American question ! He believed that there was “a deep laid and extensive conspiracy in this country, connected with the movements in Great Britain, against the peace and perpetuity of the Union”! In the fervor of his patriotism, he said the South (the timid, diffident, generous South) “*had never taken ground sufficiently high on this question.* They would be supported by nine-tenths of the people of the middle States in ASSUMING HIGHER GROUND”!! Where that sublime elevation can be found, it is difficult to conceive. Already, the South claims for her slave system, that “it is the cornerstone of our republican edifice”—of divine origin—and essential to the existence of the nation. But this, in the opinion of Mr. INGERSOLL, is far too low an estimate of its “sublime merits”! The people of Pennsylvania, “though united on the question of *abstract* slavery, would never allow the South to be trampled on by fanatics”! He had understood the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Adams) to say that, in case of a servile war, it would be a question whether the northern people would aid the South. Mr. ADAMS explained :

“He said no such thing. What did he say was this,—that if the peo-

ple of the North should be called upon to aid the people of the South, by suppressing a servile insurrection, they would, by affording such aid, assert the power of interfering with southern slavery. If the people of the North were called upon to expend their blood and treasure in a cause in which, as Mr. Jefferson declared, God had no attribute that could side with the masters—if, in that event, Congress sanctioned the sacrifice of the lives of the northern people,—then I say, the cause itself may be brought under their legislative authority. The very fact of a war would justify interposition, and as the event of a war, when once undertaken, is uncertain, the treaty-making power may close it by agreeing to universal emancipation. But, said Mr. Adams, I wish to add one more declaration. Here there was so general a clamor that Mr. Adams paused. Many cried out, “hear, hear,” “let’s have it.” At length curiosity prevailed, and the House listened to Mr. Adams’s farther declaration, which was this : In my opinion, if the decision of the House shall be in favor of reviving the rule that prevents abolition petitions from being received, it will, *ipso facto*, absolve all obligation on the part of the people of the North, to obey any call to defend the institution of slavery.”

Here there was a general alarm, and much confusion, and the House adjourned in great disorder.

The motion of Mr. INGERSOLL to reconsider was finally lost—yeas 110, nays 106.

Mr. WISE then moved to reconsider the vote by which the rules of the House, with the exception of the 21st rule, were adopted. *This motion prevailed*—yeas 106, nays 104 !—thus leaving the House, after the lapse of a fortnight, unorganized, and without any rules !

Mr. RAYNER, of North Carolina, next proposed that the rules of the last session be adopted, without exception; that the Committees appointed under the late resolution be confirmed; and that the select Committee on rules be authorized to propose further modifications of the rules.

In the course of a bombastic and furious speech, occupying three hours, he went into a history of the GAG LAW, and paid a high compliment to the TWENTY-ONE NORTHERN DEMOCRATIC members by whose aid it was passed. On this subject, he said, the South knew no party difference. Any party that made war on her institutions, she held enemies, and *with any party that upheld her rights*, (i. e. to enslave,) *SHE WOULD UNITE WITH AS FRIENDS*. He tendered the sincere thanks of his constituents to those northern gentlemen, who, *at the risk of their own popularity at home*, *HAD GONE WITH THE SOUTH* on this subject, and he was sorry to say that, with a solitary excep-

tion, *they were politically his opponents*—[i. e. DEMOCRATS, and not whigs !] As an illustration of slaveholding consistency, he held slavery in the abstract to be an evil, and its toleration “ *a misfortune to any people among whom it exists ;* ” yet, sooner than emancipate the slaves, and thus deliver the South from this deplorable evil, the people of the South would perish on the battle-field ! To those who are engaged in the work of subverting the slave system, he held out the following “ terrible, very terrible ” threat :

“ Before you accomplish your purpose, you must march over hecatombs of bodies ; you must convert every one of our smiling fields into a camp ; you must beat every one of your ploughshares into swords. Long, long before you reach the banks of the Roanoke, every stream will run red with your blood, every hill will whiten with your bones. Attempt this wild project when you will, and if there be any truth in heathen story, the banks of the Styx will be lined with your shivering ghosts, for a hundred years to come. We will trample you under our feet, and trail your crown and sceptre in the dust.”

This is the very personification of terror, cowardice and folly—mere idle bombast, which has ceased to produce any other effect upon the northern mind than that of pity and amazement. It is worthy of remark, that, after this windy outbreak, Mr. RAYNER pathetically assured Northern gentlemen, that “ the course of the abolitionists had riveted the chains of slavery with double and triple bolts of steel : it has thrown back the cause of non-slavery in the South, at least a century.” Why, then, all this bluster ? If the slave system be made only the more impregnable by the anti-slavery movement, why this tremendous excitement throughout the slaveholding regions ! Why denounce the abolitionists as incendiaries, who are endeavoring to kindle a flame that shall consume the Union ? Is the South convinced, at last, that whatever retards the downfall of slavery, is criminal, and hostile to the prosperity of republican institutions ? But Mr. RAYNER was too blind to perceive his own incoherency of speech. He was speaking for *effect*—truth was not his object. Mark how glaring is his inconsistency when he exclaims—

“ Those who are congratulating themselves with the idea of having defeated us, will yet find, that the ‘ race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.’ They will find, that *there is a moral power in being in the right which will defy all their assaults.* Men, yes, men who know their rights, are not to be deterred from the exercise of those rights, by a band of fanatics,” &c. &c. “ Sir, what is tyranny ? It is *an unjust*

and unlawful interference with the rights of others . . . Whenever you of the North attempt to encroach upon the constitutional privileges of us of the South, we shall regard you as attempting to play the part of tyrants, and we will treat you as such."

How clearly condemnatory is this language of the course pursued by the South toward her slave population, and what incentives to insurrection does it hold out to the millions who are pining in bondage on her soil! Mr. RAYNER virtually tells the slaves to remember, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. He gives the highest encouragement to those who are struggling to overturn the slave system without the shedding of blood, to persevere in their labors, by assuring them that "there is a moral power in being in the right, which will defy all assaults."

Mr. ALFRED, of Georgia, made a vehement speech, in which he urged upon those who were on the side of slavery precisely the same course marked out by the friends of emancipation, in relation to political action. He said—

"It was time for Southern men to come out from all party connexions, and make a stand for the constitutional rights of the South. On such a subject, *he knew no difference between democrat and whig*, and the whole system of measures upon which we were to consult fell into insignificance in comparison with it. It was *the question*—the great question for the South to look after. The proceedings of this House, for the last ten days, had already kindled up a flame in the whole Southern country, that no temporizing proposition could extinguish. He called upon the South now to meet this question, and to settle it at once and forever."

The question being taken on the proposition of Mr. RAYNER, it was lost—yeas 96, nays 105. Another proposition of the same individual, the same in substance with the other, was also rejected.

All the amendments having failed, the question was tried on the resolution that was originally adopted with Mr. ADAMS's amendment, excepting the 21st rule, and which was reconsidered. The vote stood—yeas 106, nays 110—nearly every democratic member (North and South) voting against it, and nearly all the northern whigs for it.

Mr. STUART, of Virginia, next submitted the following proposition as a compromise :

"Resolved, That all the rules and orders of the last House of Representatives, not superseded by any rule or resolution adopted at the pres-

ent session and now in force, be and the same are hereby adopted for the regulation of this House at the present session. And that a Select Committee be appointed to receive and enter the rules hereby adopted, and that they have leave to report at all times."

This was adopted by a vote of 119 to 103. The following rule was also adopted by a small majority:

"Upon the presentation of petitions and other papers on subjects not specially referred to the consideration of the House in the message of the President at the opening of the present extra session, objection to the reception shall be considered as made, and the question of reception shall be laid upon the table. This rule to be considered only in force during the present session. Petitions and other papers for or against the bankrupt law to be excepted from the operation of this rule.

The action of all committees on all subjects not specially referred to the consideration of the House in the message of the President shall be suspended during the present session; this suspension not to apply to business before the Committee of Elections, of Ways and Means, on Accounts, and on Mileage, nor, if the House shall so determine, to the subject of a general bankrupt law."

By the adoption of this rule, the CAG LAW was virtually repealed, five several attempts have been previously made in vain to enforce it, and abolition petitions were placed on the same level with all others which related to subjects not embraced in the President's Message—those only relating to a bankrupt law excepted. Most clearly, this was a great triumph, *so far as the naked question of abolition was concerned*; but, as a precedent, it is pregnant with great danger, and is to be viewed as only a successful effort to give an air of impartiality to absolute despotism. By it, no real relief was given to the abolitionists, while other classes of our fellow-citizens were obliged to submit to the same humiliating treatment. It was an unrighteous, and therefore an unwise act, like every other compromise of right with wrong, and liberty with slavery. We are mortified to add, that every member from the North, who made any anti-slavery pretensions, voted for this extraordinary rule, on the ground that it would not be either expedient or proper to raise the abolition question at a session called for specific purposes, and that success at the regular session would be rendered more probable by waiving the subject altogether. It is not necessary to impeach the motives, or to doubt the sincerity of these members; but it is matter of great astonishment, that they should have consented, on any consideration, to vote for the exercise of arbitrary power; and, especially,

that they should have been so blinded as to suppose that slavery was not the grand cause of the prevailing national distress, and that a well regulated currency could be established, and prosperity restored, without an open and direct conflict with the slaveholding power. Up to the present hour, the administration party has failed to agree upon any measure of national relief.

The failure of southern members to renew THE GAG at the extra session, created a very general impression that they would experience another defeat at the regular session, and that the right of petition would be enjoyed in its full constitutional exercise. But the result has shown, that no reliance can be placed upon the promises of mere politicians; that the compromise effected in June last, instead of crippling, has rather aided the slaveholding power; and that, all the plausible reasoning of worldly wisdom to the contrary, "honesty is the best policy." The odious GAG has been adopted, and with a vigor beyond precedent. Those who, at the extra session, were put under the ban in company with the abolitionists, are now graciously permitted to enjoy the right of petition; but the abolitionists still remain deprived of it, and their petitions are not even received, as formerly, by the House!

How long this alarming state of things is to continue, time alone can determine; but it is evident that endurance has almost passed its bounds, and that an adherence to the side of slavery must end either in a dissolution of the Union, or in the overthrow of the republic.

It was stated in the last Report of the Board, that the General Agent of the Society had taken a voyage to England, with two objects in view, namely—the restoration of his health, which had become very much impaired, and the procurement of funds in aid of the Parent Society, which was then in a very embarrassed condition. The first of these was happily attained; but the second was baffled, to a great extent, in consequence of the obstacles that were thrown in the path of Mr. COLLINS by the leading disorganizers on this side of the Atlantic, with whom the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are in cordial fellowship and constant correspondence. The worst aspersions were cast upon the character of Mr. COLLINS, (particularly by the Rev. NATHANIEL COLVER, of Boston,*) and insidiously cir-

* The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. COLVER to a member of the London Committee, soon after the departure of Mr. COLLINS for England: "J. A. Collins has, a few weeks since, left for England, *under suspicious circumstances* (!!)—What are his objects, we know not; but

culated throughout England under the stamp of the London Committee, in order to render him infamous in the eyes of the British people.

On his arrival in London,—partly by the advice of some of his English friends, and partly to test the disposition of the London Committee toward those who, in the United States, continued to stand on the old anti-slavery platform,—Mr. COLLINS addressed a letter to J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq. Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in which, having stated the necessities of the American Anti-Slavery Society, he respectfully solicited its aid in its behalf; or, if that could not be given, from want of funds, he solicited from the London Committee “an expression of their cordial desire for the success of the American A. S. Society”—enclosing at the same time, his credentials as its representative, duly authenticated by the signatures of its officers. After waiting more than three weeks, Mr. COLLINS received a note from Mr. TREDGOLD, stating “that whatever the amount of their funds might be, the Committee do not consider themselves entitled to dispose of them in the way you desire, so that they feel it their duty to decline altogether the consideration of a money grant;” and “are constrained to say, that the course recently pursued by the American Anti-Slavery Society has alienated their confidence.” The injustice of such a decision appears, first, in the plea that the Committee did not feel authorized to give pecuniary aid to the anti-slavery cause in the United States, when they declared in their Annual Report of June, 1840, that “wherever there is a human being subject to slavery, or the victim of the slave-trade, thither should their eyes be turned, their sympathies directed, and their help afforded;” and, secondly, in condemning the American Society without first allowing Mr. COLLINS to be heard in its defence, and in neglecting to specify any distinct and tangible charges against it. This was enforced by Mr. COLLINS, with much ability, in his rejoinder; and on the ground of common honesty he requested to be made acquainted with all those circumstances which had “alienated” the Society from the confidence of the Committee. Having received no reply to his letter, he wrote another in which he said—

we fear to practise some imposition upon British sympathy for our cause. *I hope you will beware of him*—HE IS NOT ENTITLED TO YOUR CONFIDENCE. Friends here feel deeply on the subject. Will you, if possible, ascertain what are his objects, and give us early notice?”

"Painfully placed as I am, and feeling deeply the injustice done to the Society I represent, the injury to the cause of emancipation, and also to myself individually,—a stranger in the country, appointed to act for that Society,—my way blocked up until I can obtain an opportunity of disabusing the minds of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of the wrong impression entertained by them against the American Anti-Slavery Society, and thus living here, comparatively idle, at considerable expense, you will, I am confident, see the propriety of making an early acknowledgement of the receipt of my letter."

In the course of a week, the Committee responded, that they had brought no "charges"—how paltry the evasion!—and added: "What has been 'alienated' from the American Anti-Slavery Society is the 'confidence' of the Committee in the salutary influence of that Society on the Anti-Slavery cause, since the division which took place in May last:—that cause in the United States the Committee now consider as more truly represented by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society."* It will be observed that in what manner the new Society more truly represented the cause, or of what heresy or misdemeanor the old Society had been guilty to render it thus utterly unworthy of consideration, the Committee most unjustly neglected to specify! Such conduct is eminently dishonest, and the more to be deplored and rebuked, in consequence of its evil tendencies affecting a movement in which the destinies of millions of our race are involved. We not only protest against it as morally wrong, and view it as a deep stain upon the character of the London Committee, but also adduce it as another striking proof of the conscious inability of the "new organization" spirit, alike at home and abroad, to sustain itself in the open field of investigation. Happily, the blow thus aimed at the life of the American Anti-Slavery Society, by potent hands, failed to inflict a deadly wound. The Parent Society is nearly extricated from all its difficulties, and we trust is destined

* We could scarcely have believed it possible that the "British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," (through their Secretary,) would have used Mr. Collins in the way they have done. To condemn unheard is not the characteristic of Britons, far less a foreigner in a foreign land; and we think he is quite justifiable in publishing the correspondence which he had with that body, to convince our countrymen, when their aid is required, how a small junta have it in their power—upon manifestly false insinuations—to refuse their "confidence", merely because "the Committee now consider the slavery cause as more truly represented by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society." We had thought a more catholic spirit would have been evinced by them than this quotation allows. We have been mistaken: our notion was, that every Society bearing on its banner 'anti-slavery' would be hailed as a champion in the same sacred cause.

to increase in vigor and influence, until the utter extinction of slavery from the American soil. Its organ, the NATIONAL STANDARD, which was commenced without a single subscriber, has now a very extensive circulation, and, under the editorial care of Mrs. CHILD, takes a high rank among the best conducted journals in the world. It must be somewhat mortifying to the London Committee to learn these facts; and especially to know that the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which they so heartily espoused, "has a name to live, and is dead"—its resources being dried up, its official organ having ceased to exist, its secretaries (JAMES G. BIRNEY and HENRY B. STANTON) having vacated their offices, and the entire ground of controversy which it occupied at its formation, having been silently abandoned! Even the EMANCIPATOR, which was so unjustifiably transferred as the organ of the old Society, to private hands, has been compelled to leave New York, and to unite itself with the FREE AMERICAN, in Boston, in order to prolong its existence! Nor could it possibly long survive, even by such an arrangement, if it were to continue the war against the American Anti-Slavery Society. In fact, the distinctive features of the "new organization" have ceased to be obtruded as the rallying points of division, and the conspiracy, in that form, has come to nought.

It is worthy of remark, in this connexion, that the Address of the Executive of the American and Foreign A. S. Society, to the public, which was published soon after the formation of that rival body, in vindication of its secession, and which contained many gross and cruel misrepresentations of the facts in controversy, was published *without abridgement* or delay in the British and Foreign A. S. Reporter; but, to this day, not one paragraph or sentence from the triumphant and unanswerable rejoinder of the Executive Committee of the American A. S. Society has been allowed an insertion in that journal! In fact, no notice whatever has been taken of the existence of such a paper; and the great body of British abolitionists,—at least so far as the Reporter is concerned,—are yet ignorant of its contents. Even the vilest criminal is entitled to be heard in self-defence, and is not to be condemned on *ex-parte* testimony. How the London Committee can reconcile their conduct with the Scriptural requirement, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," we are unable to see.

Denied a hearing by that Committee, and aware that he must encounter their powerful opposition in whatever part of the king-

dom he might happen to sojourn, a mind less elastic, vigorous and self-determined than that of Mr. COLLINS, would at once have yielded up the field; but, conscious of the goodness of his cause, and the rectitude of the Society which he had the honor to represent, he determined not to leave the British soil until he had made the people acquainted with the real merits of the old and new organization controversy. Nobly did he devote himself to the mighty task, and most successfully did he perform it. His labors were most abundant, not only in the direct prosecution of his grand object, but in every branch of moral reform. Although mountainous obstacles were piled up in his path, his zeal and activity enabled him to surmount them all; and wherever he travelled, if he found many whose minds had been poisoned by prejudice and calumny, he found at least some enlightened, courageous and zealous coadjutors, who sympathized with him in his trials, coincided with him in his views, and sustained him in his labors. Among these it will not be deemed invidious to mention the names of GEORGE THOMPSON, ELIZABETH PEASE, HARRIET MARTINEAU, WILLIAM SNEAL, JOHN MURRAY, RICHARD ALLEN, RICHARD D. WEBB, and REV. DR. RITCHIE.

Mr. COLLINS lectured in various places in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The narrow limits to which we are confined render it impracticable to trace his spirited career with that minuteness of detail, which the nature of the circumstances would otherwise demand. On the 29th of January last, Messrs. COLLINS and REMOND addressed a large assembly in Darlington, (England,) EDWARD OXLEY, Esq. acting as chairman. The following resolution was then moved by that well-known philanthropist, JOSEPH PEASE, SEN. Esq. and seconded by J. CHURCH BUCKSTONE, Esq. and carried unanimously:

‘That this meeting having listened attentively to the statements of Messrs. Collins and Remond, in reference to the unhappy division among the abolitionists in the United States, and to the official documentary evidence they have adduced with respect to the original constitution and to the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we are free to declare that our doubts and objections regarding its influence upon the cause of emancipation have been removed; and we therefore recommend it as the tried, devoted, and uncompromising friend of the negro, and trust the abolitionists of this country, in this its hour of great need, will bestow that pecuniary assistance which it so richly deserves.’

The worthy chairman then addressed the meeting in a speech replete with generous and noble sentiments, from which we make the following extract:

"I congratulate this large and highly respectable and influential meeting on the unanimity with which the resolutions already proposed have been passed—a unanimity that is fully merited by the gentlemen who have given us the pleasure of their company this evening, as well as by the society they represent. I hold it to be the indispensable duty of every philanthropist in this country to unite heart and hand with all Societies in the United States of America, or elsewhere, whose object is the liberation of the slave from the grievous oppression of his task-master; but it is due to the American Anti-Slavery Society, in particular, to wish them God-speed. This Society, based like the Bible Society of this country, on the catholic principle of admitting all, of every sect or party, as members, who were true to the interests of the slave, and who were willing to lend their aid to overthrow the system of slavery, has, in the face of the greatest persecution, and amid the greatest dangers and obloquy on the right hand and on the left, pursued the even tenor of its way, until the public opinion of that country has been so far revolutionized by its influence, that the ministers of the gospel, a majority of whom formerly defended slavery as a divine institution, sanctioned by the Scriptures of truth, no longer attempt a defence of this accursed institution. I believe it to be quite impossible for persons of this country to form any adequate conception of the dangers and the sacrifices which those who early fought the battle of the oppressed slave in the United States had to pass through. They were assailed by mobs of *gentlemen*; they were pointed at by men of influence as pests in society; their houses and furniture were burned or pulled down over their heads by an infuriated people; they were tarred and feathered; their lives were threatened; and in some instances they have suffered death for this righteous cause. If a society that has endured so much for eight years, and that has already produced so wonderful a change in public opinion, and on whom the slave and the man of color cast their hopes as the instruments in the hands of Providence for the working out of their deliverance;—if a society composed of such persons is not entitled to our confidence, I know not where we are to look for one. I earnestly desire that they may be encouraged to pursue their noble course, unimpeded by the misrepresentations of interested parties, and undismayed by the mountains of opposition still before them. I trust they will continue a united band of tried warriors, who, having already stormed the citadel, will mount the breach, and never rest until they have subdued all their foes: and may it please the Almighty signally to bless their endeavors!"

At Ipswich, Messrs. COLLINS and REMOND were desirous of having an interview with the venerable THOMAS CLARKSON, through the agency of RICHARD DYKES ALEXANDER, (a wealthy member of the Society of Friends, and the special patron of the notorious ELLIOTT CRESSON, formerly the agent of the American Colonization Society in England,) to whom they had letters of in-

troduction. Mr. ALEXANDER informed Mr. COLLINS, in a note, that he could not sympathize with his mission in any way, (giving, however, no reason why he could not)—that he believed it would be an act of unkindness for him (Mr. C.) to visit the “ dear man,” on account of his having been recently overworked—and that he trusted he (Mr. C.) would not pursue his project in going to Playford Hall, the residence of CLARKSON. Subsequently, Mr. ALEXANDER informed Mr. COLLINS, that wishing to do justice to his mission, he had forwarded a copy of his own note to J. A. C. to THOMAS CLARKSON, and received an answer penned by Mrs. CLARKSON, which was as follows:

“ My husband says, as a public man, he cannot receive the gentlemen as delegates. He can only receive them as individuals in a private capacity, and as the friends of the slave. It gives him pain to make this distinction. By the term “public man,” my husband means that the *world* consider him at the head of the cause, and therefore he must remain perfectly neuter. The parties having differed in sentiment, he cannot interfere, without being classed either with the one or the other.”

In addition to this, he (Mr. A.) invited Messrs. COLLINS and REMOND to take coffee with him, if they would come under the same restriction! This invitation they declined, and, though strangers in a strange place, determined to lay the facts before the people of Ipswich, if they could gather an audience. On making application for the Temperance Hall, Mr. ALEXANDER (the reputed owner) sent the following reply:

“ R. D. Alexander regrets much to put a negative on J. A. C’s application, but having lately lent the Hall for the sole object of exposing the horrors of American Slavery, * *he does not think he should be doing right again to agitate the town on the subject* ; seeing also that there is a debt of considerable magnitude owing to the English Society, he thinks it not right to make the appeal at present.

Ipswich, 2d day evening.”

What profound sympathy for the cause of bleeding humanity in the United States! It would not be doing right to allow *two* meetings to be held in the populous town of Ipswich, “ for the sole object of exposing the horrors of American slavery”!! It would “ again agitate the town” !!

The Mayor of Ipswich having kindly granted the use of the

* The meeting on this occasion was called to hear JAMES G. BIRNEY and HENRY B. STANTON. This accounts for the *liberality* of R. D. A. in lending the Hall “ for the sole object,” &c. &c.

Council Chamber, Town Hall, two public meetings were held, and numerous attended, at which much generous indignation was expressed at the treatment experienced by Messrs. COLLINS and REMOND. The Rev. Mr. THOMAS said—

“It was clear that there was at the bottom of the opposition to Messrs Collins and Remond, a sectarian feeling. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that the matter would be sifted thoroughly, that the responsibility would be thrown on the right shoulders, that the sifting would end in the complete removal of slavery and religious bigotry, and that the time would soon come when all Christians would stand on the broad ground of Christian charity, and work for the emancipation of the slaves all over the world. (Much cheering.) * * * The gentlemen on the Bench had come from a distance, from America, from the atmosphere of liberty, from that country which they always regarded as the land of love and happiness, to bring not the glad tidings that liberty was there abroad, but, unfortunately, tidings that slavery existed in America! (Hear.) They had come here, and he was sorry to think that they should have found individuals in this country lacking sympathy with them in their great efforts. (Hear.) He was sorry that he saw no dissenting minister, or clergymen of the Church of England, or those who had always led the van in the cause of liberty, now present. What could be the cause of it? There could be no doubt that at the bottom of it was sectarian feeling—that there was a feeling abroad contrary to that of Christian love and liberty—that because others were co-operating with the Society in America on the broad principle of benevolence, differing from them in political or religious sentiment, or moral affections, these should not be allowed to co-operate in this great and good cause. (Hear, hear.) The delegates came and found that there were individuals, who really were the advocates of liberty on the one hand, who would rivet the chains of slavery and moral thralldom on the other hand. Was this consistent? (No, no.) He said that if there were one broad principle in the sacred Scriptures, it was this, ‘Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.’ (Cheers.) But this was not done with those who had come from afar to fight in the cause of liberty, and to establish, if possible, the freedom of millions of their fellow-beings. (Hear and applause.) The happiness of millions depended on their exertions; and should this great and good cause suffer loss from sectarian animosity or want of Christian feeling? He hoped the meeting would express its Christian sympathy with those gentlemen; and that wherever they went, they would have a sufficiency of friends to countenance them in their mission, and the sympathy of all true English hearts and minds. He would repeat that he regretted they had not the influential men of the town here to show that they were interested in the object of the mission—a mission which not simply pertained to the happiness of the

American man of color, but to the happiness of the Englishman, the happiness of the Frenchman, the happiness of all men, wherever a human being was living; for he maintained that liberty was essential to our happiness, in proportion as we could appreciate what liberty was. (Much cheering.) He would move—

‘That this meeting having attentively listened to the statements made by Messrs. Collins and Remond, with respect to the rise and progress of New Organization in the United States, is of opinion that it is injurious to the cause of abolition, and unworthy the confidence of British philanthropists.

‘That this meeting recommend the American Anti-Slavery Society to the confidence and support of the abolitionists of this country as true to the true interest of the slave.”

Mr. J. D. HARMER seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. McPHERSON said:—

“He was astonished at being informed that men were opposed to each other in the cause of abolition in the United States, because they held different creeds in religion! (Hear, hear.) If his house were on fire, and his children enveloped in flames, and men came from every quarter of the town to assist in saving them from destruction, would he inquire whether they were Churchmen, Baptists, Unitarians, or Methodists? Would he decline their aid because they differed from him? No: his only anxiety would be to extinguish the flames!” (Loud cheers.)

On the arrival of Mr. COLLINS in Glasgow, early in the month of February, he was at first received by the Emancipation Committee with the utmost cordiality. They agreed to issue circulars, recommending him to the abolitionists of the country, but were afterwards induced by Dr. KING and others, to delay doing so for a fortnight—a private circular having been received from Capt. CHARLES STUART by Dr. WARDLAW, containing very defamatory charges against Mr. COLLINS and the American Anti-Slavery Society.* At a meeting of the Committee on the 3d of March, a proposition was made and carried, to invite Capt. STUART to visit Glasgow, and defend the charges contained in his circular, in the presence of Mr. COLLINS. This invitation he prudently refused to accept, although he had previously boasted that he had “offered Mr. COLLINS, in Edinburgh, to debate the question with him round the kingdom.” March 25th, the following resolution, after much discussion, was adopted by the Committee, 16 to 4: “That the Committee of the Glasgow Emanci-

* See Appendix.

pation Society cordially welcome Mr. COLLINS, representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, among us."

It was then voted, 9 to 2, that a committee prepare a letter for J. A. COLLINS, addressed to the abolitionists of Great Britain, and to be presented to the next meeting for its adoption. This was subsequently passed, 10 to 5; whereupon Dr. KING and Mr. D. ANDERSON and others, tendered their resignation, (Dr. WARDLAW and Dr. HUGH having previously withdrawn from the Committee,) on the ground that the Committee had been hasty in their decisions, but recalled the same on a motion being adopted to lay the whole business on the table until the next meeting, April 13th. At the adjourned meeting, by an unworthy manœuvre, the minority had been augmented by the accession of other members from 5 to 14, when the following preamble and resolutions were adopted by a majority of 14 to 9:

"For the purpose of preventing division among the friends of negro emancipation in Glasgow, and with the view of obtaining all necessary information on questions of great importance, before finally deciding upon them:

1. Resolved, That this Committee disclaims giving any judgment on what is called "the woman's rights question," and is not to be understood, from any thing that has happened, as pledging itself to a recognition of such rights.

2. That as there are now two Anti-Slavery Societies in America, one called the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the other the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and as there are many members in each of these Societies who were wont to be held in high estimation as friends of the slave by emancipationists in this country, no preference be meanwhile expressed or in any way indicated of either of these Societies over the other, but all diligence exercised to obtain the fullest information respecting both of them, in the hope of thereby reaching a unanimous or harmonious estimate of their comparative claims.

3. That this Committee, in accordance with the preceding resolutions abstains from identifying itself with any publication or agent of either of the fore-named American Societies, till the most ample opportunity has been afforded of investigating their differences."

The following remonstrance was sent to the Committee, which elicited no other reply than the foregoing resolutions:

REMONSTRANCE.

To the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GENTLEMEN:—We, Members and Friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, being anxious to see the integrity of this institution main-

tained, and its humane objects promoted, most respectfully request that you inform us, and the Society at large, with as little delay as possible, the reason why J. A. COLLINS, the Representative of the original Anti-Slavery Society in America, has not been afforded an opportunity of stating publicly to you and to the Society the objects of his mission? It is well known that there has been a division among our American friends, and that Mr. COLLINS has come to Glasgow for the purpose of securing a continuance of that friendly co-operation which has existed between us and the Society which he represents, since its formation, and that he is able to communicate the information we at present so much require in reference to the position of the American abolitionists. Mr. COLLINS has been here for the last six weeks, patiently waiting for an opportunity of defending the old Society from the aspersions of the new one. He is now about to leave this country. What will the noble-minded men of America, who have maintained their integrity in this righteous struggle, think of us, when their Representative has to tell, on his return, that the very men who sent GEORGE THOMPSON across the Atlantic, at the peril of his life, to inspire the American mind with sympathy for the oppressed, have refused to receive an American Delegate, from the very Association in which we have all along been so deeply interested? We regard it as due to the American Anti-Slavery Society, to their representative, and to ourselves, that the reasons for this unprecedented conduct be plainly stated. It surely cannot be a departure from our original zeal in behalf of the slave, or the fear of having our minds enlightened on a subject of such vital importance to the oppressed, that is thus stultifying our movements. Whatever be the cause, we entreat it to be made public, that no misunderstanding exist between us and our transatlantic brethren, who, in the midst of such persecution, are maintaining the integrity of our principles. Let us beware of doing, or omitting to do, aught that might incur the responsibility of disheartening such men as the Garri-sons, the Chapmans, the Childs, and their devoted coadjutors.

We are, gentlemen,

Yours in the cause of the slave,

JAS. TURNER, <i>Thrushgrove</i> ;	JAMES REID,
WILLIAM LANG,	DAVID SMITH,
JOHN DALZIEL,	ROBERT SIMPSON,
CHARLES DOW,	WILLIAM REID,
HENRY DOW,	RONALD WRIGHT,
JAMES M'NAIR,	ROBERT MACKAY,

(AND 47 OTHERS.)

A large meeting of the members and friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society was subsequently held, (JAMES M'NAIR, Esq. in the chair;) at which the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

“Whereas, a number of the members and friends of the Society having presented a remonstrance to the Committee, requesting them to give a satisfactory reason why they have not called a public meeting to hear Mr. John A. Collins, the agent and representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and whereas, the Committee have returned to the said remonstrance a reply so indefinite, as regards the delay therein proposed, that it is tantamount to a denial of their request:

And whereas a memorial, signed by upwards of 300 members and friends of the Society, calling upon the Committee to invite Mr. George Thompson to address, in conjunction with Mr. Collins, a public meeting of the Society; and whereas the said memorial was agreed to at a public meeting of the female abolitionists in this city, and was presented to the Committee, to which memorial the same answer has been returned as to the remonstrance:

Therefore, Resolved, That a public meeting of the members and friends of the Glasgow Emancipation Society be called, on the evening of Friday first, the 16th current, in the Rev. Mr. Nesbitt's church, Albion street, at 7 o'clock, to hear Mr. Collins, Mr. George Thompson, and other gentlemen, on the state of the slave question in America, and on the divisions existing among abolitionists in that country, &c.

Resolved, further, that the Committee of the Society be respectfully invited, through their Secretaries, to attend said meeting, when they will have an opportunity of giving such information as may be satisfactory to their constituents.”

On the evening of the meeting, the large church was crowded with a deeply interested audience, and addresses were made by a number of gentlemen. In the course of his remarks, Mr. COLLINS said,—

“He had been kept here nine weeks, waiting for some definite answer from that Committee, when at last the mountain labored and brought forth—and they had told him that they wanted to have nothing to do with the woman question. Why, who wanted to introduce the woman question? Who had introduced into Scotland that question which was so much calculated to break up the peace of Anti-Slavery Societies? Let it be branded upon their foreheads as deeply as was ever burned into the flesh of the slave, that this question was introduced by a majority of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society. (Cheers and hisses.) On his first arrival in this city, he had been received by a majority of that Committee most cordially, and they passed a motion, by a majority of 10 to 2, agreeing to give him a letter of introduction to the other societies in Scotland. There was another vote in his favor of 10 to 5; but then there was a body of them who were not satisfied with his remaining here five weeks, and they wanted time for more information; they accordingly waited a fortnight, then they voted a majority against

him. How that majority was brought about, he would leave them to guess." (Cheers and disapprobation.)

The Rev. Mr. BREWSTER gave it as his opinion, that the conduct of the Committee towards Mr. COLLINS was altogether unjustifiable. He said :—

"There were charges against Mr. Collins sent over from America, but they sent no one to support them. Capt. Stuart reiterated these charges in this country, and when Mr. Collins, like an honest man, demanded to be placed face to face with his accuser, he was refused—and by whom? Why, by Dr. King himself. (Cheers and disapprobation.) All the declamation of Dr. King had failed to satisfy him that the Committee had acted rightly in this matter; but he believed that many of them were deceived in the opinion they had formed, and which they were now urging, to the injury of the great cause in which they were professedly engaged, in the face of this great meeting. It was, indeed, a great meeting; it was in truth the Anti-Slavery Society of Glasgow; and if they had not the Anti-Slavery Committee, they had those whom that Committee represented: and they had those present, (the Secretaries, William Smeal and John Murray,) who were the master spirits that animated that Committee, the master springs that moved that Committee, whose large hearts circulated the blood through that Committee, and kept it in life and animation—when he saw these men behind him, he did not despair that they would soon have another Committee more efficient than that Committee which had deserted their honorable post." (Great cheering and disapprobation.)

He concluded by moving that the meeting disapprove of the conduct of the Glasgow Emancipation Committee toward Mr. COLLINS, which motion was carried.

At a great public meeting held by the workingmen of Glasgow, on the evening of the 26th April, an address to Mr. COLLINS was unanimously adopted, which was written with great ability, and triumphantly refuted the slanders of their proud aristocratical oppressors. In the course of it they say, in reference to the anti-slavery division in the United States :—

"It may be regarded as improper for us to challenge motives; but if allowed to hazard an opinion on the present schism, we would say, and we think our inference is the result of mature deliberation, that the present rupture has its origin in some unworthy consideration, altogether at variance with right principle, or with that charity, which is the bond of perfectness. We object to this new organization for three reasons—1st, because it requires private opinions as a test—2d, because such an admission must invalidate the only principle on which your

Society can be maintained—and 3d, because we doubt the sincerity of men who could support and admire a principle for years, and without any justifiable shadow of reason, enter into a conspiracy to overthrow its existence.

The old Society is not bounded by proscription ; its principles are contemporaneous with every contingency within the range of human calculation. For these reasons, we approve of, and recommend, your claims to the acceptance of the British public. * * * *

We are fully aware, sir, that the breath of calumny has attempted to blast your fair reputation in a similar way. But we are too great adepts at detecting folly, to be led off the path of rectitude by slander or vituperation. No, sir, we believe them not, and regard them not. Your character, your principles and moral virtues, are public property. We have treated them as such : and after the most scrupulous investigation we hesitate not to say it is beyond compare with any of your presumptuous assailants, at least in this country. Who are they, or what is their character, who so rudely insult a stranger ? Why, sir, the very men who preach liberty and practise tyranny. The men who have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage. The men who claim liberty for themselves, yet refuse the same right to others more deserving. In short, the men we have politically lost all confidence in, and whose extinction as a faction, we heartily desire.

When we reflect, sir, for a moment on the mighty triumphs your Society has achieved, the inroads it has made on the territory of cruelty and oppression, we feel compelled by every consideration which binds man to man, to acknowledge your claim to our indulgence and regard. This we regard as a sacred duty which we owe to ourselves, to society, and our fellow-bondsmen : and this duty we have a right to perform, were it from no higher motive than to rescue our country from being implicated in the disgraceful proceedings of a malignant priesthood."

At the conclusion of their eloquent address, they make the following appeal to the workingmen of America :—

"It is with feelings of deep regret that we hear from time to time that our working brethren across the Atlantic, form a powerful obstruction to the abolition cause. Brethren, we would say in the spirit of mutual friendship, suffer the word of exhortation. From the long protracted and manly struggles of your fathers to rescue themselves from the iron yoke of British dominion, we ask, can it be possible that you, their degenerate offspring, are dead to every moral sensibility ? Can you remorselessly break through all the venerable associations connected with liberty, and recklessly found a claim on your own freedom to enslave your fellow-men ? Surely not. What a vulgar boast to talk of independence and blood-bought liberty, while three millions of your fellow creatures are doomed by you to all the horrors of slavery ! It is impos-

sible, brethren, for you fully to calculate the dire effects of your conduct in this respect: it not merely reflects on your character as freemen, but it militates against our liberty in a corresponding degree. We call upon you, therefore, by all that is virtuous in morals, and sacred in religion, to ponder the character of slavery in all its relations to time and eternity: and we feel confident, that whatever be your predilections, you must give way to the voice of conscience and the voice of God. Shake yourselves free, we beseech you, from a guilty responsibility; assume the real dignity of freemen, that you may enjoy the full fruition of that saying, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall receive mercy."

This address was signed in the name and behalf of the work-
ingmen of Glasgow, by WILLIAM PATISON, MALCOLM M'FARLANE, and CHARLES M'EWER.

An immense meeting of the Emancipation Society was held in the Bazaar, in Glasgow, on the evening of April 27th, the proceedings of which were of a thrilling character. The Rev. PATRICK BREWSTER was in the chair. Addresses were made by Mr. COLLINS, Rev. Dr. RITCHIE, Rev. Messrs. ROSE and BROWN, Messrs. SMEAL, WRIGHT, TURNER, ANDERSON, and others; and resolutions were unanimously passed, condemning in strong language the proceedings of the London and Glasgow Committees, with regard to Mr. COLLINS, and approving of the course of the American Anti-Slavery Society. More than four thousand persons were present. Mr. EBENEZER ANDERSON said:—

"He had read the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society; he had read some of the latest reports brought out by that Society; and he had also read some of its transactions; and he had come with an unprejudiced mind to the conclusion that there was not at this moment, in the known world, a Society that had labored so faithfully, so zealously, and so successfully as that very Society. Thousands of dollars had been spent by them, time had been consecrated to it: and females—ay, there was the objection—had labored in the good cause, and made thorough-going abolitionists in America. (Hear.) The only fault he could find—and he did not regard it as a fault, but he knew it was considered a fault by leading men in that Society—and it was this, that it was just too liberal; it despised creeds, and accepted the aid of any man or every man, of any woman or every woman, that could lend their influence to entirely abolish slavery in America." (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. RITCHIE evinced great magnanimity of spirit and nobleness of mind in his remarks. He said,—

"What had Mr. Garrison done? Had they found out that he was becoming the enemy of the slave? No: but they had found out that he

advocated the rights of woman. (Hear.) Why, every anti-slavery society did the same thing. What might be the opinions Mr. Garrison held on that subject, he neither knew nor cared : but he had no hesitation in saying this, that women ought to be in every Anti-Slavery Society. The people of America sent over female representatives to what was called the World's Convention ; but, because they were females, they could not be received. Was a woman, he should like to know, not a part of the world ? and when a World's Convention was held, were they not entitled to receive her as a delegate ? He maintained she had as good a right to be received in that Convention as the venerable Clarkson himself. (Great cheering.) Were they to settle all such petty considerations as these before they abolished slavery ? Another charge against Garrison was that he had peculiar views of the Sabbath ; but he (Mr. R.) had nothing to do with that. The only question he had to put was, is he an abolitionist ? Whatever might be his views upon the Sabbath question, he still held to his text, and maintained that he was a glorious anti-slavery man, and therefore he would cheer him on. (Cheers.) It was said, again, that he held wrong views about ministers. That was rather a sore point, he must confess—(Laughter)—but he was the worst enemy of the gospel ministry he knew of, who stood up in defence of the crimes of gospel ministers. (Cheers.) For a minister of Christ to be successful, he must be pure and unspotted. This was not the day nor the hour to bring up such things. He believed the time was coming, when there was not a creed upon the face of the earth, that would be what it was now. Reformation was constantly going on, and he did not know the church nor the creed that would not admit of reformation, and which had not much need of it. (Cheers.) Sorry was he to say, that in America the great majority of the ministers of the gospel were pro-slavery men : and of all men the most contemptible was such a one as this. (Cheers.) What did he tell the people in his most solemn moments ? That he walked in the footsteps of Him who came to give liberty to the captive—to undo the heavy burdens—and to proclaim the acceptable day of our Lord ; while his life is a practical refutation of his profession. The church in America was blasted by the mildew of pro-slavery. What was it, for instance, to reflect that a minister of the gospel, and a missionary, was spoken of as the property of a congregation ? [Hear.] Yes : he belongs to a congregation, and they can sell him. He read of such a case in the *Liberator*, conducted by Mr. Garrison, and his labors as a minister were spoken of and applauded. [Mr. Collins. There are hundreds of such.] Mr. C. had just said there were hundreds of such. What a depth of abomination was here, which no man was able to fathom ! [Cheers.] The worst enemies of abolition in America were the ministers of the gospel. Here the Rev. Dr. referred more particularly to the attempts of the clergy to amalgamate pro-slavery and anti-slavery ; some of them made great professions for a time,

and then retrograded into the gradual state of things. He would explain this by an illustration. He was a tee-totaller, and had been so for some years. Now, what would be thought of him if he retrograded, and went back into the ranks of what was called temperance, which prohibited whiskey, but allowed any given quantity of wine, porter, and strong beer, just to get Dr. Wardlaw and Dr. Heugh with him? [Laughter.] The old organization in America was tee-totalism, and the new organization was temperance. [Renewed laughter.] The pro-slavery ministers in America were cheering on the new organization. They said that was the Society for them, for it would enable them to keep their pulpits for a few years longer. They will permit you to blaspheme slavery as much as you please, and as loudly as you please, and to fix the brand upon it as deeply as you can, provided always you don't act as an anti-slavery man. [Applause.] The original American Anti-Slavery Society had, they knew, received the approbation of the men of color, times without number, while they had expressed their determined hostility to the new organization. This was with him almost sufficient to settle the whole case. [Cheers.] Public opinion was also going fast the right way in America. The mushroom new Societies were like Jonah's gourd, and, like it, they would go down in a night."

As a mark of respect and sympathy, a splendid soiree was held in honor of Mr. COLLINS, in the Traders' Hall, Glasford-st. Glasgow, on the 5th of May. JOHN M'LEOD, Esq. in the chair. Addresses were made by the Chairman, MESSRS. COLLINS, R. WRIGHT, R. M'LEOD, EBENEZER ANDERSON, ROBERT REID, Mr. MELVIN, from Paisley, and Mr. OXLEY, an English gentleman.

On being applied to for his opinion respecting the merits of the Old and New Organization controversy in America, that enlightened and well-tried philanthropist, GEORGE THOMPSON, sent the following comprehensive and emphatic reply:—

MANCHESTER, May 17th, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—You have intimated to me, that it is the wish of some of the members of the Glasgow Emancipation Society that I should state my opinions on the following points, viz :

1. Whether the American Anti-Slavery Society, [founded in 1833,] has deviated from its Constitution and original principles? and,

2. Whether there exists any sufficient reason for the friends of the emancipation cause in this country withholding their sympathy and co-operation from that Society?

My engagements will not permit me to express myself at large upon these particulars; but I feel no hesitation in conveying, in brief language an opinion founded upon, I think, a full and accurate knowledge of the

Society's operations from the commencement of its existence, and an intimate and endeared acquaintance with many of its most distinguished and devoted friends. My opinion is, that *the Society has maintained inviolate, both in the letter and in the spirit, the admirable Constitution which it originally adopted; and that it has been steadily true to the high principles put forth in its noble declaration*—promulgated at the same time.

Such being my deliberate opinion, it is scarcely necessary for me to add, that *I consider the Society still entitled to the sincere sympathy, the unabated confidence, and the earnest co-operation of the friends of the slave in this kingdom.*

For my own part, I cannot suffer any differences of opinion on other points, to sever me from those whose love for the anti-slavery cause I believe to be, at least, fully equal to my own. While I entertain my present conviction, that the American Anti-Slavery Society remains *firm in its allegiance to the cause it has espoused*, I shall feel it to be, as I have ever done, an honor to be regarded as one of its humble supporters, and *to share any reproaches with which it may be assailed.*

I am, my dear friend, yours very truly,

Mr. Wm. Smeal.

GEORGE THOMPSON.*

In the Seventh Annual report of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, an impartial account is given of the schism among the Abolitionists of the United-States, which concludes as follows:—

“Individuals in Anti-Slavery Societies in America, as here, are permitted to hold any peculiarity of view, and any shade of opinion, either on the woman question or any other question whether of politics or religion; and long may it be before abolitionists there or here are required to be of one creed in religion, or of one opinion on the woman question, the temperance question, or upon any other question whatever. The object of Anti-Slavery Societies is simply the abolition of the slavery of the human species; and, so long as the members of these Societies do not force their own private opinions upon the adoption of their brethren, they may individually hold, as well as advocate, in their separate and independent capacity, the sentiments they respectively entertain. Holding these views, your Committee trust, that both as regards their own Society, and kindred institutions, the Woman question, or *any other extraneous topic*, will never more be mooted to mar the harmony, or retard the operations of those who, differing in other respects, unitedly desire the elevation of the slave to the same rights and privileges with themselves. The Glasgow Emancipation Society has hitherto professed to hold these catholic views; and it is for those now assembled at its anniversary to say, whether its constitution, based on such principles, shall continue as it is, or shall be altered or amended.

* See Mr. Thompson's Speech at Glasgow, in the Appendix.

Your Committee regret to inform the members and friends of the Society, that several of their esteemed office-bearers and members of Committee have resigned their offices; but they fondly trust, seeing that *the Society and its object are still the same*, they will have the pleasure, ere long, once more to number their late coadjutors among them."

During his detention in Glasgow, Mr. COLLINS prepared for the press a very able and instructive pamphlet, entitled "*Right and Wrong among the Abolitionists of the United States* : with an Introductory Letter by HARRIET MARTINEAU." In this pamphlet, the origin, nature and progress of the schism in the anti-slavery ranks in this country are clearly and forcibly stated, and a large amount of documentary evidence is accumulated, which renders it extremely valuable as a work of reference. Two large editions were printed, and circulated most advantageously to a right understanding of the merits of the controversy. The Glasgow Post complimented it as follows :

"We believe the publication of this pamphlet well timed, and we trust it will have the effect of arresting the catastrophe we dread; at all events, we doubt not that every impartial person, on a perusal, will discover the infamous attempt made to crush, if possible, the original Society, and will rise therefrom with his convictions doubly strengthened of the injustice done it; and that, although presently overcast, it will ultimately, as it ought to, prevail."

The Introductory Letter by Miss MARTINEAU is so admirably expressed, so intelligently conceived, and so valuable in its testimony, that its insertion in this Report is demanded not less for its historical importance, than by the high respect we entertain for its gifted and philanthropic authoress :—

TYNEMOUTH, NORTHUMBERLAND, }
Feb: 27th, 1841. }

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have read the statements in "*Right and Wrong among the Abolitionists of the United States*," with respect to the differences between the two Anti-Slavery Societies of America, with a strong and painful interest. I wish I could adequately express my sense of the duty of every one interested in the cause of the negro,—of human freedom at large,—to read and deeply meditate this piece of history. I am not more firmly persuaded of any thing, than that those who, on the present occasion, listen to one side only, or refuse to hear either, are doing the deepest injury in their power to the anti-slavery cause, and sowing the seeds of a bitter future repentance.

I am aware how distasteful are the details of a strife. I know but

too well, from my own experience, how natural it is to turn away, with a faint and sickening heart, from the exposure of the enmities of those whose first friendship sprang up in the field of benevolent labors. I fully understand the feelings of offended delicacy which would close the ears and seal the lips of those who have been fellow-workers with both the parties now alienated. Among all these causes of recoil, I see how it is but too probable that the anti-slavery parties on the other side of the Atlantic may be left by many of their British brethren to "settle their own affairs," to "fight their own battles." But if I had a voice which would penetrate wherever I wished, I would ask in the depths of every heart that feels for the slave, whether it should be so;—whether such indifference and recoil may not be as criminal in us, as dissension in them;—whether, in declining to do justice to the true friends of the slave, (on whichever side they may appear to be,) we may not be guilty of treachery as fatal as compromising with his enemies.

Those who devote themselves to the redemption of an oppressed class or race, do, by their act of self-devotion, pledge themselves to the discharge of the lowest and most irksome offices of protection, as much as to that of the most cordial and animating. We are bound, not only to fight against foes whom we never saw, and upon whom our sympathies never rested;—but also to work for millions of poor creatures, so grateful for our care, that they are ready to kiss the hem of our garments. This kind of service, however lavish it may require of us to be of our labor, our time, our money, is easy enough in comparison with one which is equally binding upon us. It is also our duty to withdraw our sympathy and countenance from our fellow-laborers, (however great their former merits and our love,) when they compromise the cause. It is our duty to expose their guilt when, by their act of compromise, they oppress and betray those brethren whose nobleness is a rebuke to themselves. This painful duty may every friend of the negro in this country now find himself called upon to discharge, if he gives due attention to the state of anti-slavery affairs in America. If he does *not* give this attention, it would be better for him that he never named the negro and his cause: for it is surely better to stand aloof from a philanthropic enterprise than to mix up injustice with it.

The first movers in the anti-slavery cause in America, those who have stood firm through the fierce persecutions of many years, who have maintained their broad platform of catholic principles, who have guarded their original Constitution from innovation and circumscription,—Garrison, and his corps of devout, devoted, and catholic fellow-laborers, with the Bible in their heart of hearts, and its spirit in all their ways, are now in a condition in which they need our support. They have been oppressed, betrayed, pillaged, and slandered. Not they, but their foes, are the innovators, the bigots, the unscrupulous proselyters, the preachers of a new doctrine, modified to propitiate the pro-slavery spirit of the country in which they live. No one will call my words too

strong, my accusations exaggerated, who will read the evidence relating to the transfer of the *Emancipator*, (for one instance,) or casting an eye upon the statement of accounts of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will perceive who voted into their own pockets the money by which the *Emancipator* might have been sustained, under whose commission the assailants of the old organization crossed the Atlantic, and at whose expense they travelled throughout our country, sowing calumnies against Garrison and his faithful companions through the length and breadth of our land. When the friends of the slave here are told of treachery, pillage and slander, will they hazard being party to the guilt, for want of enquiry, even though the London Anti-Slavery Committee, and their organ, the *Reporter*, at present appear to stand in that predicament? If they would avoid such a liability, let them read and consider the statement by which the case is placed fully before them.

No one is more ready than I to make allowance for lapse in the friends of the negro in America. I have seen too much of the suffering (not conceivable here,) consequent upon a profession of anti-slavery principles, to wonder that there are but few who can endure, from year to year, the infliction from without, the probing of the soul within, which visits the apostles of freedom in a land which maintains slavery on its soil. From my heart I pity those who, having gone into the enterprise, find that they have not strength for it, and that they are drawn by their weakness into acts of injustice towards such as are stronger than themselves;—for those who are not with the thorough-going are necessarily against them. We must regard with even respectful compassion the first misgivings, before they have become lapse. But what then must we feel,—what ought we to do,—for those who *have* strength,—for those who *can* suffer to the end,—for those who are, after the pelting of a ten years' pitiless storm, as firm, as resolved, as full of vital warmth as ever,—as prepared still to abide the tempest, till the deluge of universal conviction shall sweep away the iniquity of slavery from the earth? Shall we refuse to hear the tale of their injuries, or their justification, because others have refused, or because the story is painful? May we dare to call ourselves workers in the anti-slavery cause, while thus deserting the chief of its apostles now living in the world?

All believe that the truth will finally prevail; and you and I, dear friend, have a firm faith that therefore the old organization, with Garrison at its head, will prevail, at length, over the base enmity of the seceders. But we ought not to be satisfied with their prevailing *at length*, till we see whether they cannot be enabled to stand their ground *now*. Not a moment is to be lost. Not for a moment should their noble hearts be left uncheered;—not for a moment should the slaveholder be permitted to fan his embers of hope;—not for a moment should the American slave be compelled to tremble at the adversity of his earliest and staunchest friends, if we can, by any effort, obtain a hearing for the cause. Let us urge and rouse all who are about us,—not to receive our mere asser-

tions,—not to take our convictions upon trust,—but to read, search out, and weigh the evidence, and judge for themselves.

This is all that is needed; for I believe there is not a friend of the slave, in any part of the world, who, knowing the facts, would not make haste to offer his right hand to Garrison and his company, and his voice and purse to their cause.

I am yours, very truly,

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

Mr. COLLINS made a hasty visit to Ireland, where he found some very choice spirits, and received a most cordial welcome. During his brief sojourn in Dublin, he was greatly strengthened by his intercourse with those remarkably devoted and worthy friends of Christian reform, in all its branches, RICHARD ALLEN, JAMES HAUGHTON, and RICHARD D. WEBB. He was also enabled to participate in the proceedings of the Hibernia Anti-Slavery Society, and to secure its confidence and co-operation. He arrived in Boston on the 17th of July, in company with our long absent and greatly beloved friends, WENDELL and ANN T. G. PHILLIPS.

Among the delegates who were chosen at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1840, to attend the "World's Convention" in London, was CHARLES LENOX REMOND. Identified by complexion and destiny with the colored population of the United-States, and distinguished for his intellectual advancement and moral worth, no appointment could have been more judicious or praiseworthy. On applying for a cabin passage to Liverpool, on board of an American packet-ship, his request was instantly denied, and, he was compelled to go out in the steerage, although the state of his health required far better accommodations than were to be found in that crowded receptacle of poverty, suffering, and vice; thus showing that even the love of gain in American bosoms is subordinate to the spirit of prejudice. But even in the steerage, he was subjected to insult and persecution, particularly on the part of the first mate, who endeavored to make his condition intolerable during the whole voyage,—the misery of which was, to some extent, alleviated by the faithful companionship and brotherly kindness of another delegate (though of a different complexion) to the same convention, WILLIAM ADAMS, of Pawtucket, Rhode-Island. All this, however, was borne with exemplary patience and fortitude by Mr. REMOND, until he planted his feet upon British soil, when, for the

first time in his life, he felt that he could breathe free air, and enjoy the rights of a freeman.

Mr. REMOND did not arrive at London in season to be present at the opening of the Convention; but, as soon as he ascertained that the excellent female delegates from this country had been denied seats in that body on account of their sex, he nobly determined,—anxious as he was to be heard in the Convention, in behalf of his oppressed countrymen, and much as he had suffered in crossing the Atlantic,—to bear his testimony against this unjustifiable proscription, by taking his seat in the gallery of Freemasons' Hall as a spectator, and not on the floor as a participant in the proceedings of the meeting.* He was unable to comprehend the genuineness of that kind of anti-slavery, which, while it protested against persecuting a man on account of his complexion, insisted upon putting a gag into the mouth of a woman on account of her sex; and which had unceremoniously refused to admit to the Convention, not merely some of the earliest and most devoted friends of the slaves, but delegates who were regularly appointed to represent the American Anti-Slavery Society and some of its auxiliaries. He was inflexible in his decision to be true to human rights, irrespective of all personal considerations; and he felt assured that his course would commend itself to the reason and judgment of an enlightened posterity, as it did to his own understanding and conscience. Strong temptations were offered, in vain, to induce him to swerve from his purpose. He was “a stranger in a strange land,” without means, and yet anxious to make a tour through England, Scotland and Ireland, to enlighten the people upon the subject of American Slavery. He had willingly encountered great indignities and severe hardships, that he might enjoy the honor and the privilege of a seat among the assembled philanthropists of the world. He had felt his soul fired with enthusiasm at the mere announcement of the proposition to hold such a meeting, in such a place, and for such an object. He had every reason to believe, that, by connecting himself with the Convention, his career as a lecturer would be greatly facilitated during his sojourn in that country. He knew that, by refusing to join that body, he would inevitably subject himself, at least for the time being, to the charge of being an “ultraist,” a “fanatic,” and a blind “follower of GARRISON;”

* Associated with him in this determination, it is well known, were three other delegates—MESSrs. GARRISON, ROGERS and ADAMS.

and, moreover, that he would in all probability excite the displeasure of the London Committee, and array their powerful influence against him throughout the united kingdom. It was an hour of trial, but not of perplexity. He calmly resolved to abide by his own convictions of duty, at whatever cost or hazard. Such an instance of unwavering attachment to principle is as rare as it is meritorious.

Mr. REMOND remained abroad about eighteen months, during which time, he labored with great assiduity in the Anti-Slavery cause in England, in Scotland, and in Ireland—never concealing his sentiments, either in his private intercourse or in his public lectures, in regard to the side which he espoused in the United States, if the occasion called for their avowal; and wherever he went, he was received with the utmost hospitality, and listened to with deep interest and irrepressible enthusiasm. He appears to have acquitted himself, in all respects, with excellent propriety, sound judgment, and real ability. In proof of the interest that he excited, the Limerick (Irish) Reporter, in alluding to one of his lectures in that place, states that

“The house was thronged in every part. Even the stairs leading to the galleries, and the avenues to the body of the house, were crowded with anxious groups, impatient to hear from the gifted tongue of this interesting person, his stunning details of the horrors with which the system is identified, and his powerful denunciation of those who uphold it; and who, strange to observe, whilst they uphold it, are the loudest vaunters of the happiness and beauty of unrestricted human freedom. We were not astonished that this should be the case. The popular error, that the color of the skin presupposes mental prostration and an absence of the reflective and reasoning faculties, is so entirely demolished by the undoubted talent, and acute and tutored judgment of Mr. Remond, that it is not at all surprising that eager crowds should impatiently rush to behold what we may pronounce to be a sort of phenomenon in the intellectual world, and to see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, that in whose existence they had no previous faith. But it is a popular error that color has aught to do with the deterioration or elevation of ethereal mind. Some of the lights of mankind were men of color—blacks. The immortal Bishop of Hippo, whose writings will float above the tide of time, whilst time shall be, was not a white—neither was the facetious and laughter-exciting Terence, whom no comedian of former times excels in facile delineation, nor others whom we could name, were it our purpose.

Mr. Remond handled his subject with a master-grasp. He showed up the incongruities and inconsistencies of the Americans in such a

point of view as to disabuse the most sceptical, and disarm the most prejudiced in their favor. He demonstrated the drift and aim of the States to be the propping up of this inhumanising and unchristianising evil, which stands out in atrocious relief as the ugliest blot on the history of nations. He made it clear that the piques, the acerbities, and the angers of the States are armed on no question of financial or political interest more than they are on this—and that, notwithstanding slavery is the very antipodes of their theory, it is the darling object of their practice. As the avowed and uncompromising foes of despotism under every form and hue—whether in the monarchy, the republic, or the mixed government, at home or abroad—we think that we should be wanting in our duty if we did not give every encouragement to this lecturer, who, as far as he has gone, has shown himself eminently deserving of the patronage that has been hitherto bestowed upon his endeavors at the hands of the enlightened and liberal of the citizens of Limerick of all classes and persuasions.”

The following tribute was paid by the Port of Tyne Pilot:

“ On Friday evening last, Feb. 12, an admirable lecture on American Slavery was delivered by Charles Lenox Remond, at the Friends' Meeting House, Stephenson St., N. Shields. The lecturer, a fine well-made young man of color, was introduced by Robert Spence, Esq., and he addressed a crowded and attentive assembly for upwards of two hours. He spoke with great clearness of pronounciation, and his language, animated as it was occasionally by his method of delivery, amounted to eloquence of no mean order. The attention of the assembly was kept up with unflagging spirit; and the cogent arguments of the lecturer against the atrocious system of slavery which exists in the United States, and the appeals to them, as men, as Christians, as Britons, to come forward in the good cause of human liberty, must have produced the beneficial effects on all who heard them. After Mr. Remond had concluded his lecture, which was warmly and deservedly applauded, R. SPENCE, Esq., moved that the meeting should tender him their thanks, which was seconded in a suitable speech by the Rev. Mr. MOULTON, and carried by acclamation.”

A Waterford paper bestowed upon him a very flattering notice, and in the course of its criticisms said:

“ Mr. Remond is a fine young man, of elegant figure, and prepossessing manners. He is a most eloquent and effective speaker. He feels for his clients, he feels with them. He is a distinct and manly speaker. He can produce highly flattering credentials from America, and from England, and from Scotland. He was warmly supported by the Committee of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, and will be accompanied to Waterford by one of that body. In Dublin, he was the honored guest of Richard Allen, a most benevolent and highly respected citizen.”

Alluding to his lectures in Waterford, a highly respectable Irish correspondent of the *LIBERATOR* wrote as follows:

"Our friend acquitted himself to admiration; and as to the admiration, he got plenty of it. I do not think that, after that lecture, all the professors of divinity and physiology, in all your southern colleges, could have convinced the good people of the "*urbs intacta*," that Remond belongs to any other race than that which is declared to be only "a little lower than the angels, crowned with glory and honor." Or, if he be, what a celestial company of superior natures the chivalry of the South must be, all more sensitive, more eloquent, more intelligent, more pious, more devoted, more self-sacrificing, with all the higher elements of our nature more bountifully bestowed on them, than is exhibited in the person of that inferior creature, Remond! This lecture was followed by one more crowded than the former, and the second by a third, which, to speak like a Hibernian, was fuller than the room could hold. It filled and overflowed to such a degree of inconvenient pressure, that we were obliged, against our wills, in order to secure an audience that could hear, to issue tickets of admission to the two last lectures. For these, a small charge was made, a larger room was secured, and a more select company obtained."

The testimony of *RICHARD D. WEBB*, an active philanthropist of Dublin, is as follows:

"So far as Remond has gone in Ireland, his course has been a triumphant one. He has been well treated and well heard. He has excited great attention, and considerable regard to the anti-slavery cause. No one has ever yet done more as a lecturer in Ireland, in behalf of your efforts in America. He will be long remembered, and the seeds he has scattered must bear an abundant harvest of good fruits. He has been assisted from place to place, by anti-slavery friends, without the necessity of any public application; and I hope he may be enabled to leave Ireland not poorer, if not much richer, than he was when he landed on 'our dear little island.' The colored race have a most creditable representative in Remond. His eloquence, his demeanor, and the discretion with which he moves, are all calculated to make a most favorable impression—and they have done so effectually. I am glad that I have had such an excellent opportunity of making his acquaintance; and all I have yet seen has confirmed the testimony of some of the best friends of the anti-slavery cause in England and Scotland, who know him well, and have seen him tested by very trying circumstances."

Finally, we are enabled to present the testimony of one who has never been surpassed in his labors in the broad field of Philanthropy, and who is peculiarly endeared to the abolitionists of

the United States. In November last, an exceedingly eloquent lecture was delivered in Glasgow, by GEORGE THOMPSON, on American slavery, and on the present position and prospects of the abolitionists of the United States; at the conclusion of which, Mr. REMOND came forward, and, in a brief and pertinent speech, and "with a full and grateful heart," bade farewell to all his friends in Scotland. He was followed by Mr. THOMPSON, who, addressing the chairman, feelingly said,—

"Sir, it is with feelings of delight, qualified by many regrets, that I rise to discharge a duty, at once prompted by my own heart, and assigned me by the Committee of this Society. Our friend, who has retired, is about to leave this country to return to his own. He has been with us for fifteen months, and as it was my privilege to become acquainted with him immediately on his reaching these shores, so it has been my privilege to be associated with him, intimately and affectionately, during the whole of his stay upon them. From the deep interest I have felt in him, both on his own account personally, as well as because he represents millions of our race in suffering and captivity, I have been led to watch, with an anxious and a jealous eye, all his movements. I have had peculiar opportunities of forming an estimate of his character, and for ascertaining the amount of influence which his labors are calculated to exert on the public mind; and most happy am I to be able to bear my testimony to the uprightness and purity of his principles, and to the extraordinary success of his endeavors to enlighten the people of this country on the subject of slavery in the United States. The influence of his talents has been aided by the character he has maintained. He has not only multiplied converts to our cause, but friends for himself. The colored population of the United States have been fortunate in having had so rarely endowed an advocate of their claims in this country. He has, wherever he has been seen and heard, begotten an unwonted feeling of sympathy with his brethren in bonds. With fervid eloquence he has exposed the wrongs inflicted on his race. With manly dignity he has vindicated the claims of the outcast negro to the full honors of humanity, and the unabridged rights of brotherhood and citizenship. In his own person he has demonstrated the intellectual equality of a class oppressed and trodden under foot as an inferior portion of the human family. (cheers.) He has denounced, with feelings that those only can experience, who, like himself, have suffered 'the oppressor's scorn, the proud man's contumely,' the manifestations and fruits of that prejudice against the color of the skin, which has driven the spirit of Christ from the hearts, and the mandates of Christ from the memory, of his white and persecuting countrymen. He has carried his hearers to distant scenes of unpitied sorrow and unrequited toil, and has made them feel for them that are in bonds, as bound with them."

He has based his advocacy of human rights upon the loftiest and most impregnable principles. He has recommended means which are the most rational and peaceful, and the most certain in their results. He has accomplished much. In his late tour in Ireland, he has succeeded in waking up a feeling in behalf of the slave wholly new, and has linked the cause of personal freedom to the cause of temperance, which has so gloriously triumphed among the people of the "Emerald Isle." That a laborer so efficient should leave us, just at a time when the fields are white unto the harvest, is to me, and must be unto all, a matter of regret. To lose one whom we love, and who for his own sake we desire to keep among us, is also a cause of sorrow. But I own I feel peculiar emotion when I remember that our friend, though no stranger to America, nor to trials and suffering there, goes back to suffering and trial, which will be made more bitter by the treatment he has received on these shores. Here, he has been hailed as a man—cherished as a brother—caressed as a friend. (Cheers.) No show of disrespect—no brutal taunts—no scornful looks—no acts of proscription have crossed his path, to grieve his soul, or tempt him to flee our society. (Cheers.) But another lot awaits him. Though, on his return, he will be welcomed by the faithful few, and taken to their hearts, he will have still to endure the obloquy, reproach, and insults of those who can despise the noblest work of God, and trample their Maker's image in the dust, when reflected in the soul of a colored man. God grant him patience! I have confidence that he will justify all our hopes—I feel that he will be steadfast and immovable—that he will be as full of good works in the cause of the slave, amidst the darkness and the terrors which await him, as he has been here, while cheered by the smiles, and burthened almost with the grateful and admiring attention of those who happily are strangers to the feeling which blights and withers his countrymen. (Cheers.) His course at home will be watched by us with solicitude. He will have our humble prayer that he may be preserved and strengthened, and I hope he will be spared to revisit us, as the bearer of the delightful tidings, that better feelings and more righteous principles are guiding the actions of the white population of America. (Cheers.) Believing that I know the sentiments you entertain towards my friend, and the estimation in which you hold his abilities and his labors, I submit with confidence the resolution which has been intrusted to me. It connects him with the cause with which he is identified, and calls upon you to pledge yourselves that you will continue to love and cherish both. I am sure I may, in your name, commission our friend to say to his fellow-laborers, with whom he will soon, I trust, have a happy meeting, that our hearts are still with them—that our love for them is unabated, and that we wish them good speed in the name of the Lord. With these remarks I submit the resolution. It is as follows:—viz.

"That the friends of Universal Emancipation now present cannot permit Mr. Remond to leave this city for his native country, without ex-

pressing to him their affectionate regard for his person, their respect for his character, their admiration of his talents, and their gratitude for the eminent services he has rendered to the Abolition cause, during his visit to Great Britain. They would also emphatically assure him of their deep sympathy with his suffering brethren in the United States, and throughout the world, of their increasing hatred of the Prejudice and Slavery of which they are the victims, and of their best wishes for his future success, and the early triumph of his cause."

Such testimonials are highly creditable, and we trust they will continue to be merited by the future course of Mr. REMOND in his own country. Few persons, indeed, could pass through so great a change without being injured by praise, or exhibiting some of the common frailties of human nature. To leave a land in which one has been accustomed to be treated with contempt and contumely, even by the vulgar rabble, in consequence of an unnatural prejudice, and to receive in another country all possible civility, kindness and commendation from the most intelligent and respectable inhabitants, without, in the one case, being inflated by self-conceit, or, in the other, cast down by despondency, is to exhibit a self-control and a firmness of character, as remarkable as they are praiseworthy.

Mr. REMOND was the honored bearer to the United States, of an Address from the people of Ireland to their countrymen and countrywomen in America, invoking the latter to oppose slavery by all the peaceful means in their power—to insist upon liberty for all, without regard to color, creed or country—to treat the colored people as their equals and as brethren—to join with the abolitionists every where, as the only consistent advocates of liberty—and to remember that, in such a struggle, none can be neutral. This seasonable and excellent Address is signed by Ireland's great champion, DANIEL O'CONNELL, the eloquent advocate of universal emancipation, and THEOBALD MATHEW, whose success in the sacred cause of temperance has been almost miraculous, and by SIXTY THOUSAND OTHERS, among whom are many Catholic priests and highly respectable citizens, as well as thousands of the hard-working but liberty-loving laborers of the Emerald Isle. It is a noble gift of philanthropy from a country that is itself subjected to grievous oppression, to another that, while claiming to be the freest on earth, is incessantly occupied in devising expedients to extend and perpetuate slavery on its soil. Whether its glorious sentiments will be heartily responded to by the Irish inhabitants of our land, or whether they will shrink,

through timidity or selfishness, from following its advice, a very short time will determine. The clamor that will probably be raised against the Address, by many a time-serving priest and political demagogue, may exert a bad influence over minds which, if left to follow their own sympathetic instincts, would readily unite in demanding liberty and justice for all who are pining in bondage; but is it too much to hope that the potent voices of the great Irish LIBERATOR and FATHER MATHEW, strengthened by those of a mighty host in Erin, will drown this pro-slavery clamor, and be approvingly heard by the great body of our Irish fellow citizens? They have made themselves exiles from the cherished land of their nativity, and come to these shores in search of liberty; and will they now assist in reducing millions of their fellow-creatures to chains and slavery? Will they show themselves to be base apostates from the sacred cause of freedom, because they are unwilling to encounter the frowns of those who live by plundering the poor and needy, and who maintain that all laborers ought to be slaves? Ireland will assuredly disown them if they shall refuse to join the abolition ranks, and prove their regard for liberty to be spurious by acting in concert with the enemies of human rights.

One fact, connected with the return of Mr. REMOND to the United States, will suffice to show to what extent American prejudice against a colored complexion is habitually carried, and how much more sacred are the rights of men esteemed in Old England than in New England. On his arrival in Boston, Mr. R. went to the Eastern rail-road depot, in order to visit his parents in Salem; but, instead of being allowed to ride with other passengers, he was compelled to take a seat in what is contemptuously called the "Jim Crow car," as though he were a leper or a wild animal! Nor was this all. Several highly respectable white friends, who were going in the same train, anxious to give him their congratulations on his safe return home, and to hear from his own lips something of the state of things abroad, determined to take their seats in the proscribed car with Mr. R., but were immediately ordered by the conductor to leave it voluntarily, or be dragged from it by violence! Thus has the spirit of slavery destroyed the rights of white and colored citizens alike, even on the soil of Massachusetts. In England, Scotland and Ireland, Mr. REMOND was received into the best circles, and treated with the utmost courtesy and respect. In Exeter Hall, London, with a royal duke in the chair, and succeeding DANIEL O'CONNELL as one of

the speakers on that occasion, he was listened to with admiration, and elicited thunders of applause. Wherever he addressed the people, he excited their enthusiasm and secured their respect. But, in his own land, as soon as he steps his foot on the shore, he is treated more vilely than a dog, and prohibited from enjoying the society even of those who have crucified their own prejudices, and whose hearts are touched with sympathy for his lot! And America is the land of liberty and equality—the land which cannot tolerate a nobility—the land which scoffs at monarchy! Such are the inducements which it holds out to its colored population to be intelligent, virtuous, patriotic!

The scenes of violence that have occurred on the rail-road between Boston and Salem, within the last few months, have excited a deep sensation in all parts of the Commonwealth. In several instances, worthy and intelligent colored citizens have been dragged from the cars usually occupied by other travellers, and brutally treated, solely on account of their complexion. Among the sufferers have been Dr. THOMAS JINNINGS, Jr. of Boston, FREDERICK DOUGLAS, and Mrs. MARY NEWHALL GREEN, of Lynn. Mrs. GREEN is a young woman, of very light complexion, and much respected by her acquaintance. She was dragged out of the car, at the Lynn depot, in a very indecent manner, with an infant in her arms, and then struck and thrown to the ground. Her husband was also beaten for daring to interfere for her protection. Her finger was severely cut, and her knee and shoulder badly hurt. After having been thrown from the car, she went to the ticket office to sit down, but was ordered out in a peremptory tone. In a letter addressed by her to the stockholders and directors of the road, she says:—

“I will tell you the reason why I do not wish to ride in what is called the Jim Crow car. In the first place, I have been grossly insulted in said car by one of the hirelings of the rail-road, and had it not been that the life of my babe would have been endangered, I would have jumped from the car, though the train was going at a rapid rate. In the second place, I do not think it is proper for a woman to go in that car, by herself, liable to be insulted by the servants in attendance. In the third place, I do not think that I have any more right in that car than any other person. It is a proscribed car, in which, for that reason alone, I do not wish to ride. I think I have a right, in common with others, to go in any car I choose. When I behave disorderly, it will be time to order me out.

It has been said that the abolitionists prompted me to go into the car

from which I was ejected. It is not true. I am not aware that any of them knew that I was going to Boston. I need no prompting. I hope that I have intelligence and courage enough to assert my rights when I see them invaded."

For remonstrating against such brutal proceedings, several white passengers were forcibly ejected from the cars, and proclamation was made, that no discussion of the propriety of the course of the corporation would be allowed, and that any one who called it in question should be expelled from the cars!

The General Agent of this Society, (Mr. COLLINS,) has been repeatedly insulted and threatened, while travelling on this road, and more than once violently dragged out of the cars by ruffian hands, in company with Mr. DOUGLAS, because he would not remain silent when witnessing the atrocious attacks upon our persecuted colored citizens. In one instance, he received a severe blow upon the back part of the head, and another in his face, cutting his lip badly, and was also kicked in the back so violently as to feel the effects of it for a number of weeks.

In September last, three large public meetings were held in Lynn, to take into consideration this despotic conduct of the Eastern rail-road Corporation, and the following resolutions adopted:

"Resolved, That the recent outrage perpetrated in this town, on the persons of John A. Collins and Frederick Douglas, by the servants of the Eastern Rail-Road Company is a gross violation of our State Constitution as well as of all law and decency, and being the substitution of Lynch law and mobocracy for order and decorum, ought to meet the indignant rebuke of an insulted community.

Resolved, That the members of this meeting assure the Directors of the Eastern Rail-Road Corporation, that they will use all the means in their power, consistent with their views of law and Christianity, to defend the colored people who may see fit to take their seats in the long cars, in the enjoyment of their rights.

Resolved, That the repeated aggressions upon the rights of travellers by those in the employ of the Eastern Rail Road Corporation, demand the interference of Legislative authority, and that memorials should accordingly be presented to the Legislature of Massachusetts at its next session.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the Eastern Rail Road ought to be viewed not as a question between Abolitionists and Anti-Abolitionists, but as a matter connected with the freedom of every citizen.

Resolved, That freedom of opinion is not to be surrendered at the summons of any corporation.

Resolved, That since many of the Rail Road Corporations have acknowledged the equal rights of colored citizens, it is idle for the Eastern Rail Road Corporation to pretend to make any distinction on account of color."

The Editor of the Lynn Record, (DANIEL HENSHAW, Esq.) is deserving of the highest commendation, in this connexion, for the fearless and able manner in which he has denounced the ruffianism of this "soulless corporation," and defended the rights and liberties of an injured class of our fellow citizens. He says:

"The tyranny, the violence, of which we speak, has made fearful inroads on the Eastern Rail-Road within a very short time, and if not speedily checked, will spread till the last vestige of liberty with the travelling community will be taken from them. Already a brawny bully is seen watching the passengers as they enter the cars, and exercising his judgment, or rather his caprice, his whims, his prejudices, personal piques and passions, and under pretence of finding fault with the color of their skins, their hair, or their clothes, drags out all whom he dislikes, and if any other persons raise the voice of remonstrance, he is heard swearing and threatening that if any person opens his mouth, he will serve him in the same manner. Has the law thus subjected the liberty of citizens to the will of a bully? We trow not; and hope the independent voters throughout Massachusetts will take this subject of corporate power into consideration, and bear it in mind on election day."

The Record publishes the following communication from an esteemed member of the Society of Friends :

"To the Editor of the Lynn Record :

The following circumstance is of such a nature, that I deem it my duty to lay it before the public.

On the first of the present month, I, with my daughter and her two children, one about a year, and the other three years old, together with a respectable *colored woman*, who had been residing in my family, and who accompanied us for the purpose of assisting in taking care of the children, took the cars at the depot in this town, on our way to Philadelphia, the place of my daughter's residence. Very soon after getting under way, the conductor came and whispered to me, saying, "*You must not think to take a colored person in with you again—this is the second time—and if you ever do it again, she shall be taken out.*" I said, that under such circumstances, it would be next to impossible to get along without her assistance—if she is removed, we must go with her. The conductor replied—"No, you shall not." I remonstrated with him, but without effect. He assured me the like *offence* should not be repeated! On the rail-road from Boston to Stonington, we had no trouble on account of our

not being all of one *shade of complexion*. My daughter, her children and servant, took the saloon car, and on board the steamboat they all took lodgings in the cabin. Comment on such outrageous proceedings is unnecessary. Will the public tolerate them longer on the Eastern Rail-Road?

ISAAC BASSETT.

Lynn, 9th mo. 13, 1841."

A southern slaveholder may get into the first class cars, accompanied by his "chattels personal," and not a word will be uttered against the arrangement; but no free citizen of Massachusetts must presume to ride in company with a colored person *who is not a slave*, even if the assistance of that person is indispensable in taking care of a family of children!

One of the most serious assaults which have been made upon persons travelling on this road took place on the evening of the 30th September. A respectable colored man having taken his seat in the "long car," and been ejected from it, remonstrances were made by several white passengers,* who were immediately hauled from the car with savage violence, and prohibited from pursuing their journey, unless they would "behave" themselves! Subsequently, Dr. MANN brought an action for assault and battery against Mr. GEORGE HARRINGTON, conductor on the road, which was tried before justice SIMMONS of the Police Court, Boston—SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Esq. appearing as counsel for the prosecution, and Mr. LORD, of Salem, for the defendant. It was argued by Mr. LORD that "all corporations in this Commonwealth have power to make such reasonable and proper by-laws for the management of their business as their own interests and the public good may require; that the established usage and the public sentiment of this community authorise a separation of the blacks from the whites in public places; that the regulation adopted by the Eastern Rail-Road Corporation was reasonable and proper, and such as they had a perfect right to adopt; that if the rule was unreasonable, neither Dr. Mann nor any other person had power to take the law into their own hands, and to right this wrong; and that he and his friends formed a conspiracy to prevent the execution of this rule; and in this they were trespassers."

The sophistry of this defence must be palpable to every unbiassed mind. By the bill of Rights of this Commonwealth, every citizen (black or white) is free and equal, and entitled to the

* Dr. DANIEL MANN, H. B. LOUGE, (a venerable man,) CHARLES P. BOSSON, and J. P. BISHOP, all of Boston.

same rights and immunities. No corporation, therefore, can lawfully make any invidious discrimination in the treatment of the travelling community, founded on the stature, bulk or complexion of individuals; nor can the legislature grant any such power to any incorporated body, without violating the State Constitution. All legislative enactments, or corporate by-laws, which punish and degrade a portion of the inhabitants for the manner in which it has pleased the Almighty to create them, are neither "reasonable" nor "proper," but oppressive and impious. As to the argument in regard to "established usage" and "public sentiment," it is not founded on justice or humanity, but on popular caprice and prevalent cruelty. It overlooks the great object of government, which is to protect the weak against the strong, and to shield the rights of the minority from the encroachments of the majority. It makes mockery of law, and treats the Bill of Rights as nothing better than "blurred and tattered parchment." Besides, it contradicts well-known facts. It assumes that, on all other rail-roads in this Commonwealth, a similar "separation of the blacks from the whites" is enforced by regulation and usage; but this is not true. No such distinction is recognized on any other road, excepting that which connects Boston with New-Bedford; and no complaint is heard from any other quarter. The conduct of the Eastern rail-road corporation, therefore, is *an exception to established usage*, and, consequently, doubly unjustifiable. The rule which it is said that body had "a perfect right to adopt," is in the following words :

NOTICE. The Directors of the Eastern Rail-Road Co. have ordered the following rule of the road to be published, viz. :

All passengers upon the road are required to take such seats in the cars, and in such cars as shall be designated by the respective conductors; and all tickets are sold subject to this rule.

Sept. 2d, 1841.

STEPHEN A. CHASE, *Sup't.*

In regard to this notice, it is worthy of remark—

1. It was not adopted until several instances had occurred, in which colored and white passengers had been brutally ejected from the cars.

2. It gives no specific information to *colored* passengers, but puts "all passengers" on the same level. Not a word is said in it about "public sentiment" or "established usage"—no reason is given why "all tickets are sold subject to this rule."

3. *On the face of it*, there is nothing unreasonable or improper.

Its aspect is impartial and kind. Instead of signifying persecution or exclusion, it seems to indicate a watchful interest in the accommodation, not of a portion only, but of "ALL passengers upon the road"—a wish to prevent any confusion among the throng who may be rushing too hastily or too numerous into a particular car, to the mutual discomfort of all.

4. It has never been enforced on any but *colored* persons, and was not adopted with reference to any other class.* Hence, it is made an instrument of oppression, in a deceptive form and a most cowardly manner.

The directors of the rail-road were either ashamed or afraid to declare in their "Notice" precisely what they meant by it. If they had explicitly averred that *all colored passengers are required to take seats in the Jim Crow car*, it would have saved them from the merited charge of hypocrisy, but not from the indignation of all who abhor injustice. But, in as much as they neglected to do this, our colored citizens did perfectly right not to interpret the language of the "Notice" in an invidious sense. Indeed, had the rule been explicit in its phraseology, they would have been justified in taking seats with other passengers, in an orderly and quiet manner; and in case of their being dragged out, they had a right to expect a recovery of damages for assault and battery on their persons. Every one knows that if either the superintendent or conductor, on that road, should attempt to assort white travellers according to his own ideas of taste or propriety—the rich from the poor, the learned from the ignorant, the aged from the young—it would excite something more powerful than ridicule, and would not be tolerated for a moment. But, according to the terms of the "Notice," he has as much right to do so, as he has to assort passengers according to their complexional varieties. Why, then, should it be tolerated in the one case more than in the other?

It was pleaded that if the rule was unreasonable, neither Dr. MANX nor any other person could be justified in taking the law into his own hands, in order to right the wrong; and the charge of "conspirators" and "trespassers" was brought against Dr. M. and others who could not behold a flagrant outrage committed, without crying out against it. "The head and front of the offending," on the part of these gentlemen, consisted in earnestly expos-

* It is true, the *white* friends of the colored people are not now allowed to take seats in the "Jim Crow car," but this is only the impartiality of malice and ruffianism.

tulating with the conductor for his unlawful and cruel treatment of a colored passenger. They struck no blows, and carefully refrained from any act of violence. For daring to exercise this liberty of speech, and to manifest a keen sense of moral indignation, they were covered with opprobrious epithets, and hurled from the cars to the ground with savage violence, by the conductor and his band of hired ruffians!

The decision of Justice SIMMONS was, that Mr. LORD was substantially correct in the positions which he assumed!—that the conductor was justified in ejecting Dr. MANN and his associates from the cars!!—and that the conductor, GEORGE HARRINGTON, the defendant, be discharged!!! This decision has created great surprise in the community, and is to be treated as of no authority. It is clearly arbitrary, illegal, unconstitutional. In summing up the case, it was apparent to many, that Justice S. paid no regard to the Bill of Rights of this State, but allowed his mind to be influenced solely by considerations growing out of the “established usages” of society. If the lives and liberties of our colored citizens are to be dependant upon custom, and to be sacrificed upon the altar of a murderous prejudice, then is the constitution of Massachusetts a worthless instrument, and the soil of the Commonwealth stained with innocent blood.

Justice demands the fact to be recorded, that the superintendent of the Eastern rail-road, STEPHEN A. CHASE, under whose direction these numerous outrages have been perpetrated, is a member of the Society of Friends, in good standing and of considerable influence! He seems to be a man lost to shame, and glorying in his brutality. The Quaker garb ill becomes him; and yet so long as he is allowed to pass unrebuked by the Society with which he is connected, he probably does not see any good reason why he should throw it off. Alluding to his reprehensible position, the Editor of the Worcester Spy (also a Friend) makes the following spirited comments:

“Sooner than be the agent of carrying into effect such outrageous, unrighteous, and tyrannical regulations, we would sever our good right hand from our body, and beg our food from door to door. We can feel nothing but the most unmitigated contempt for any man who could do it. And we would now admonish the Directors of that corporation to beware of the ground on which they stand. Do they feel so strong and safe in their corporate rights, as to think they can trample on the rights of citizens, and outrage public feeling with impunity? If they do, let them look at Charlestown bridge. It lies in their vicinity, and may read

them a useful lesson. Do they wish to add to the numbers, already strong, of those who would destroy all corporate rights in the State, and make their charters worthless? If they do, they have taken the right course to effect it, and a few more cases like those they have recently exhibited, will change what is now a minority into a majority."

The following excellent editorial remarks are taken from the Quincy Patriot:

"If such has become the state of affairs, it would seem to be time for the public to look about them, and see to what they are coming. Are free citizens of our enlightened Commonwealth to be maltreated as in this, and repeated instances of the kind by that Company? If they mean to go upon this principle, they will soon find that the public have rights which they themselves will not abandon, and which they will cause the servants of the public to respect. It seems that not only colored persons are turned out of the cars unceremoniously, and in open violation of justice, turned out after the *agents* of the company and the *servants* of the public have put their fare in their pockets, but *white* gentlemen, when they have ventured to remonstrate against such rabid violations of decency, justice and propriety, have shared their fate. The time has gone by, when Corporations or their agents can brave public opinion as it respects the old prejudice which has existed against *color*. In the mass of the best men in the Northern States, it exists no longer, and it is not in the power of *bullying servants* to conjure up its unsightly ghost from its black shades. The indignant frown of enlightened public sentiment has opened its artillery, and discharged a full broadside upon this too long-cherished remnant of ignorance and barbarism. The abolition of slavery must come, and it will bear with a tremendous power upon all who uphold its rotten, putrid habiliments. If steamboats, and rail-road cars, and stagemen, will put themselves under the wheels of this *falling lumber*, this tumbling car, we mean slavery and its accompanying abominations, they must expect to be crushed beneath its mountain weight."

The Editor of the Lynn Record also very justly remarks:

"If any thing will open the eyes of the people to the danger of Corporations, it is the arbitrary, tyrannical and outrageous conduct of this Company, as exhibited from time to time, in carrying into effect their abominable and unconstitutional rules. When our legislature provided this mode of public conveyance, and granted an act of incorporation to certain wealthy individuals to carry the design into effect, can it be supposed they intended to violate our own Bill of Rights, or to destroy the equal rights of others, by degrading one class of people and exalting another without regard to merit, or by making arbitrary distinctions in society, according to dress, color, and personal appearance, and having a committee to judge of these distinctions, and using personal violence

to enforce such arbitrary rules? The very idea is abominable. But these vile and arbitrary rules have become so frequent of late, and have been stretched to such a degree, that gentlemen of *pure, white skins*, well clad, and well behaved, and respected in society, have fallen under them, been grossly insulted, brutally abused, and deprived of their rights. * * * The danger of Corporations, as recently exemplified in the outrages and usurpations of the Eastern rail-road Company, ought to awaken the attention of the people, that the members of our next legislature may be chosen with special reference to this subject. Corporations have no souls or bodies, no responsibility or tangibility, and their conduct is such as might be expected from those who feel power and forget right."

Several outrages similar to those already narrated, have also taken place on the Boston and New-Bedford rail-road. In July last, an action was brought before the Police Court, in New-Bedford, by DAVID RUGGLES, of New York, (the intrepid friend of his oppressed countrymen,) against certain persons in the service of the New-Bedford and Taunton Rail-Road Company, for committing a most aggravated assault and battery upon his person, in consequence of his attempting to ride in the car with passengers, whose skins were "not colored like his own." Justice CRAPO took the side of MIGHT against RIGHT, and ordered the defendants to be discharged! Never was a more unrighteous decision placed on record. Referring to it, the Editor of the Boston Daily Times uses the following strong language:

"INFAMOUS DECISION.—Mr. DAVID RUGGLES, a colored man of some notoriety, last week brought an action for assault and battery, in consequence of having been turned out of the rail-road cars on the 6th instant at New Bedford. He bought a ticket and went into a car in which there were three white women. He was requested to go into the car provided for colored people, but refused, and was forcibly expelled. He brought his action, and the court gave its opinion, that *no assault was committed* upon RUGGLES by any of the defendants while in the car, which was not *warranted* by the circumstances of the case. Now a justice that would make such a decision should have his ears cropped. Nothing *warrants* a violation of the law, which it is the magistrate's duty to see enforced."

In giving an account of this disgraceful occurrence, in the Liberator, Mr. RUGGLES says:

"It is not long since a respectable female, going from Boston to New-Bedford, was most grossly insulted and assaulted by a ruffian in the dirty car, where she was compelled to sit. He crawled through a window

from another part of the same car, and the conductor permitted him to remain, without affording the defenceless woman the least protection ! In relation to my own case, it is proper to state, that, when an appeal was made to the passengers by the conductor, to know whether they would countenance or second the outrage upon my rights and person, there were but two present, in a company of sixty or seventy, who were sufficiently tainted with ruffianism to urge them on. Rev. John M. Spear was present, and, for the manner in which he protested against the assailants, and the undaunted magnanimity which he evinced on the occasion, he deserves the gratitude of every true-hearted friend of human rights."

It is evident that while such atrocities are allowed to be perpetrated with impunity, on the soil of Massachusetts, the whole body of southern slave holders will be emboldened to persist in their career of oppression. But the people of this Commonwealth will never sanction such high-handed injustice. Already a large number of petitions have been sent to the Legislature now in session, asking for the passage of a law, declaring and defining the rights of the people of this Commonwealth in the use of the means of conveyance furnished by the Rail-Road Companies therein, in order that the officers of said companies may no longer claim the right of depriving any class of persons of the use of any of their cars, on the sole ground of color, and of insulting, assaulting and ejecting white passengers, merely for claiming the equal means of conveyance for persons of color. These have been referred to a joint committee of both branches, from whom a favorable report may be expected; but should the prayer of the petitioners be disregarded, either by the committee or the Legislature, the friends of justice and humanity throughout the Commonwealth, must redouble their exertions at the next session, and speak in a tone that will be heard, and exhibit an amount of moral and political strength that will command success.

In May last, an extraordinary case of kidnapping took place in the harbor of Boston, and created much excitement in the city. A complaint was made at the Police Court, by the Rev. CHARLES T. TORREY against JAMES S. HIGGINS of Boston, and BENJAMIN HIGGINS of Eastham, the captain and mate of a schooner which had been lying at a wharf near No. 83, Commercial street, for having "with force and arms, seized and confined JOHN TORRANCE, of said Boston, laborer, against his will, with intent to cause the said JOHN TORRANCE to be sent out of this State against his will, to wit, to NEWBERN, in North Carolina, against the peace

of said Commonwealth, and contrary to the form of the Statute in such case made and provided." A warrant was issued for the arrest of these men, and on Saturday, June 5th, BENJ. HIGGINS, the mate, was brought before Justice ROGERS, of the Police Court, to answer to the above charge. R. H. DANA, Jr. Esq., the author of "Two Years before the Mast," appeared as counsel for the Rev. Mr. TORREY, the prosecutor; and FRANKLIN DEXTER, Esq. U. S. District Attorney, appeared in his private capacity as counsel for the defendant. The witnesses for the prosecution were Mr. JOHN GOVE, merchant, 60 Commercial street, Mr. JONAS SNOW, ship-chandler, Mr. JOSIAH BRACKETT, Mr. OLIVER SMITH, merchant, and Rev. NATHANIEL COLVER. Mr. GOVE testified as follows:

"He saw BENJ. HIGGINS for the first time, on Friday morning, May 28th, and understood that he was mate of the sch. Wellington, trading between Boston and Newbern, North Carolina. Had heard that there was a negro slave detained on board that vessel, and entered into conversation with him. Met him near his store on Commercial street. He said the black man was brought away from Newbern, North Carolina, in the Wellington—and showed witness a letter which he said the black man had written to his wife in Philadelphia. He stated that neither the captain nor any of the crew knew that the black man was on board, until they had been several days at sea. When they found him, the captain wanted to put into Norfolk, Va., and leave the slave, as he feared there would be trouble if he brought him to Boston. The crew, he said, refused to put the vessel in, and the captain was compelled to continue on his course to Boston. When he arrived here, he inquired of various persons what he should do, and it was thought best to take the slave back to Newbern. He feared, the mate said, that some attempt would be made to rescue the slave, and they (the captain, mate and crew) had armed themselves with guns, knives, &c., and confined the black man in the cabin. One day, he said, the slave jumped overboard, and attempted to swim ashore. He was picked up by some men in a boat; the mate called to them, and said he would give two dollars to have him brought on board, and the black man offered any sum if they would set him on shore. The men finally brought him back to the schooner, and he was then put in irons, and kept chained below decks, and was only brought up occasionally to take the fresh air. The mate said, further, that *they* (meaning the captain and himself) had the companion-way nailed up, and the captain threatened to shoot any man who should attempt to rescue the slave. He stated, also, that the captain had sailed for Newbern, in the Wellington, but he declined going. He supposed, he said, that the slave TORRANCE had gone back in the schooner, but did not know. The mate said, during this conversation, that he thought

the slave might be purchased for five hundred dollars, and set at liberty. Saw the mate afterwards, on board a vessel, not the Wellington. He said he had written to the abolition meeting, then held at the Marlboro' Chapel, to see if they would aid in the purchase, and he had the letter then in his hand."

The following is a copy of the letter written by the defendant, *verbatim et literatim*:

"Boston, May 29th, 1841.

John Torrance of Newbern, N. C. A negro slave conveyed himself on board of Capt. Higgins vessel Probably by the aid of sum of the Crue which i discoverd 5 days after wards and had been to sea Four days and i proposed to go into norfolk and send him back for the Capt. and My self where in danger of imprisonment and a heavy fine, which wold distress my famely the Capt. and my self.

"it probably may bee maney dollars damage to mea. he thinks he can be bought for 500 dollars, i think it will not excee 700 hundred. he bought his wife by wurking on Shouse in the night by help of friends. i have been often informe in Newbern that he sent his wife to pheladelphia.

"i think yo can give 25 dollars apeac, if you think i can sacrifice severel hundred.

"BEN HIGGINS, of Eastham

"Countey Barnstabl.

"i think he is a long dist' from us, Convead away different than reported."

All the other witnesses confirmed this testimony. Mr. DANY informed the Court that he had several others, whose evidence tended to the same point, but he thought it unnecessary to introduce any more, upon the primary examination. He believed the evidence presented would justify his honor in holding the defendant for trial in another Court.

Mr. DEXTER said he should make no defence, at that time, and he presumed the only question would be as to the amount of bail. He wished that it might not be fixed so high as to compel the defendant to go to jail, as his family was sick and distressed, and needed his presence.

The Court ordered him to recognise with sureties, in the sum of \$500 for appearance at the Municipal Court, at its June term. The bail was promptly furnished, and he was discharged from custody.

Before the captain could be arrested, he had sailed in the night-time for Newbern, without entering the departure of his vessel at the custom-house, &c.—indeed, with entire secrecy—carrying

with him the victim of slavery in chains ! On his arrival at Newbern, he was publicly eulogized and rewarded by the authorities of that place !

According to the Revised Statutes of Massachusetts, part 4, title 1, chapter 125, section 20—

“ Every person who, without lawful authority, shall forcibly or secretly confine or imprison any other person, within this State, against his will, or shall forcibly carry or send such person out of this State, or shall forcibly seize and confine, or shall inveigle or kidnap any other person, with intent to cause such person to be secretly confined or imprisoned, in this State, against his will, or to cause such person to be sent out of this State, against his will, or to be sold as a slave, or in any way held to service against his will, * * * shall be punished by imprisonment in the State Prison not more than ten years, or by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail not more than two years.”

On the facts and the evidence being laid before, the Grand Jury for Suffolk County, they refused to find a bill against HIGGINS, and he was discharged (!) by proclamation ! They could not deny that he had violated a law of this Commonwealth, in having seized, chained, and clandestinely sent to the South, to be horribly tortured or put to a lingering death, a human being on suspicion that he was a runaway slave ; but it was only “ an error of the head, and not of the heart ” !! And, besides, had he done otherwise, he would have subjected himself to a heavy penalty on his return to North Carolina, and it might have proved an embarrassment to trade !! Thus were the constitution and laws of Massachusetts trampled in the dust by men who had bound themselves by an oath to uphold them in perfect integrity ! Thus was kidnapping declared to be a justifiable act on the soil of Massachusetts ! Thus was a bounty offered to high-handed villany, and to steal a man is no crime ! Thus does Slavery, like an omnipresent power, surround us ; and triumphantly at the North, as well as at the South, enforce its bloody mandates !

Not a particle of evidence was laid before the Grand Jury, that JOHN TORRANCE was a slave. They did not *know* but BEN HIGGINS had kidnapped and sold a FREEMAN into bondage. But even if legal proof of his being a slave had been before them, it would not have altered the law or the facts. HIGGINS had no claim to him as owner, or the owner's agent. Neither could the owner himself have been justified in taking him away, or in confining

him for the purpose, till he had established his title before a petit jury. Besides, their duty was not to inquire, whether the laws of North Carolina had or had not been violated; but only, whether the accused had violated the statutes of Massachusetts—and of this, it is not known or believed that any of the number had any doubt whatever.

The following are the names of those who composed the Grand Jury :— Robert C. Hooper, Lewis J. Bailey, Jacob D. Barry, Thacher Beal, Richard Brackett, Thomas Chamberlin, John C. Cook, David Eckley, Christopher C. Gore, John Goodwin, Calvin Hurd, Joseph C. Hicks, Isaac Jackson, James Kidder, Jr. Gad Leavitt, Charles Larkin, Henry Munroe, John Neal, Asaph Parmelee, W. D. Ross, John P. Thorndike, John G. Tappan, James Williams.

The following occurrence took place, in July last, and is narrated by a correspondent of the *Liberator* as follows :

“ HENRY LUDLAM, of Richmond, Va., having urgent business that called him to the North, secured the services of a slave girl named LUCY FAGGINS, as a servant, making a contract with her owner, it is said, for the term of one year. On their arrival at New-Bedford, some of the vigilant friends of liberty soon ascertained that Lucy was held as a slave, contrary to the statutes of the old Bay State : and further learned, from her own lips, that she desired to be free. As soon, however, as it was found that she had been conversing with colored persons, efforts were immediately made by the family to put an end to what they deemed “ foreign interference,” though it has been asserted that she was subject to no restraint while in New-Bedford. The attempt, however, to deny her the opportunity to see and converse with friends proved unsuccessful : for they, doubtless remembering that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, were not to be deterred from their mission by any influences exerted to restrain a fellow-being in bondage, and that, too, when the unhappy victim herself was panting to enjoy the invigorating atmosphere of liberty. Many strange stories were told of her being dragged from under Mr. Dunbar’s bed, and of their being a great noise about the house, but they are *pro-slavery* facts. There was no noise. It was not generally known, even amongst abolitionists, the course that was to be taken to secure her right to freedom ; and, consequently, but few were gathered near the house. Those without were quietly listening to the doings within. The Sheriff served the writ of habeas corpus, and she was conveyed to Boston, where on Saturday morning Judge WILDE pronounced her FREE. She retired from the court-house, accompanied by a large concourse of friends, who proceeded with her to the Rev. Mr. Cannon’s chapel in West-Centre street, where she received their congrat-

ulations. Prayers were offered in gratitude to God, followed by remarks from several individuals. A collection was taken for her benefit, and the exercises concluded with a hymn of praise for her escape from the "*delectable land of slavery*."

Much excitement was produced among the anti-abolition inhabitants of New-Bedford, in consequence of the result of this trial, and much sympathy expressed for Mr. LUDLAM ! The Editor of the Mercury came out very abusively in his columns against those who were instrumental in rescuing Lucy from her terrible fate, and especially against "a certain reverend gentleman, (Rev. Mr. SPEAR, of that place,) whose name will become memorable in connexion with these proceedings, and who is believed to have instigated the movement." He asserted, before the trial, that "Lucy had secreted herself under a bed, in order to escape from these officious friends, and could only be persuaded to yield herself, upon the promise that she should go back to Virginia, and see her brothers, and sisters, and cousins, if she wished" ! In addition to this ridiculous statement, he attempted to excite a false sympathy in the community by the following *pathetic* representation :

"Persons who were present at the house of Capt. Dunbar, (the father-in-law of Mr. Ludlam,) represent the scene to have been one of the most distressing they ever witnessed. In the meantime, at a late hour in the night, the feeble mother, and the exhausted father, who had wearied themselves with watching the sick, catching such intervals of repose, day or night, as they could, were thus suddenly left destitute of even the ordinary means of assistance for their children—and the girl who was as free as air to come and go when and where she pleased, has been imprisoned for two days and three nights, under the name of *liberty*."

The Editor of the Mercury prefaced his account of the affair with the following humane and veracious asseveration :—"It becomes our duty to record *one of the most inhuman acts of brutality*, committed under the color of law, that was ever perpetrated in a civilized community" !—It is thus that the northern press is frequently prostituted to the support of southern slavery.

The case of the Amistad captives (which is too well known to need a minute record in this Report) was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, in January last, by an appeal from the decree of the Circuit Court of the District of Connecti-

cut sitting in admiralty. By that decree, the Court rejected the claims of Ruiz and Montez for the delivery of the negroes, but admitted them for the cargo, with the exception of the claim for salvage. It rejected the claim made by the Attorney of the United States, on behalf of the Spanish Minister, for the restoration of the negroes under the treaty; but it decreed that they should be delivered to the President of the United States, to be transported to Africa, pursuant to the act of the 3d of March, 1819. Mr. Justice STORY delivered the opinion of the Supreme Court, in the following words :—

“ Upon the whole, our opinion is that the decree of the Circuit Court affirming that of the District Court ought to be affirmed, except so far as it directed the negroes to be delivered to the President to be transported to Africa, in pursuance of the act of the 3d of March, 1819; and, as to this, it ought to be reversed, and that the said negroes be declared to be free, and be dismissed from the custody of the Court, and go without day.”

No event has ever transpired in this country to awaken so deep an interest in the African race, as the remarkable case of these captives. Their deliverance has caused almost universal joy throughout the non-slaveholding States. They were defended, without charge, and, it is superfluous to add, with transcendent ability, by the venerable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. By this act, Mr. ADAMS has greatly enlarged and consolidated his fame, and secured for himself the blessing of those who were ready to perish, and who, without his powerful advocacy, would in all probability have been surrendered to the Spanish authorities in Cuba—as it was evidently the wish of our National Executive, in compliance with the demands of the South, to reduce them again to slavery. As soon as the opinion of the Court was pronounced, Mr. ADAMS addressed the following characteristic letter to the Committee in New York, who had taken the Mendians under their benevolent supervision :

WASHINGTON, MARCH 9, 1841.

THE CAPTIVES ARE FREE.

The part of the decree of the District Court which placed them at the disposal of the United States to be sent to Africa, is REVERSED. They are to be discharged from the custody of the Marshal—FREE.

The rest of the decision of the Courts below, is affirmed.

“ Not unto us—not unto us, &c.”

J. Q. ADAMS.

To no individual is so much credit due for his indefatigable exertions in behalf of these captives, as to LEWIS TAPPAN, of New-York. Mr. LEAVITT, the Editor of the *Emancipator*, (who was associated with Mr. T. on the Committee,) has paid him the following merited tribute :

“ His determined benevolence, his untiring vigilance, his never-failing resources in times of difficulty, and his immovable decision of character, his facility in the despatch of business, have often stood, humanly speaking, between the Mendians and inevitable death. There is not another man in this country who both could and would have done what he has done. Repeatedly has he left his own business, for many days in succession, at the greatest inconvenience, to devote his time to them. The respected counsel who managed the case before the courts of Connecticut, freely acknowledged the service rendered by him. Nothing could exceed the vigilance and ability with which he carried on his operations during the pending of the trial in the Supreme Court at Washington. In watching the press, in anticipating every possible danger, in providing for any exigency, favorable or adverse, there was nothing left undone that human forecast and energy could have accomplished. While I was at Washington, scarcely a day passed that I did not receive a letter on some subject or other connected with them. But the manner in which he has, almost alone, carried into effect a train of measures for the embarkation of the Mendians to their own country, accompanied by an efficient corps of teachers, has surpassed all that went before. Being now engaged in business alone, and in an employment where every thing depends on his personal supervision, he yet left the city at an hour's warning, for the purpose of making a tour in Massachusetts to raise funds for the outfit. Having accomplished a successful tour of nearly two weeks, he returned home to find nearly a hundred letters of business on his desk to read and answer, and at the same time all the preparation for embarkation of the Mendians, and their teachers, to be finished in ten days, while, as it so happened, neither of his associates on the Committee were in town to render even the aid of their counsel to lighten the load of care. That the work was done, and done thoroughly, every thing cared for, and every thing provided, could only have been achieved by Lewis Tappan. It will be the duty of the Mendi nation, after they shall have received their long lost sons, accompanied with all the blessings of Christianity and civilization, through the divine blessings on his labors and cares, to raise in their hearts a monument of gratitude to him, to which no other man in America has an equal claim.”

After having been exhibited, to crowded and admiring audiences, in Philadelphia, New-York, Boston, and other large cities and towns, in order to show the wonderful proficiency they had

made under the instruction of their kind teachers in Connecticut, they embarked on the 24th of November, in the bark *Gentleman*, for Sierra Leone,* accompanied by Rev. Messrs STEELE and RAYMOND, and Mrs. Raymond, missionaries to Africa, and by Mr. WILSON and wife, teachers.

Within a few weeks past, a case has occurred, in the prosecution of the *American* slave trade, in all its leading features similar to that of the *Amistad*. On the 25th of October, the brig *Creole*, Zephaniah C. Gifford master, sailed from Richmond, (Va.) laden with slaves (upwards of one hundred) and manufactured tobacco, for New-Orleans. On the evening of Nov. 7th, a portion of the slaves rose upon the crew of the vessel, and in the struggle that ensued, killed John R. Howell, (who acted as a slave overseer,) and wounded the captain, first mate, and two of the crew, severely. Having obtained possession of the brig, they directed her to be taken to Nassau, in the island of New Providence, (or British colony,) where she arrived on the 9th of the same month. At the request of the American consul in that place, the governor ordered a guard on board, with a view to the investigation of the circumstances of the case, which was subsequently made by two British magistrates, on whose report nineteen of the slaves were imprisoned by the local authorities, as having been concerned in the mutiny, and the remainder were allowed to go free. In imprisoning the nineteen, the object was, not to surrender them to the American government, but to obtain instructions from the government in England on the subject.

The leader in this revolt against tyranny was a slave named MADISON WASHINGTON,† who, with his assistants, appears to have exhibited the noblest traits of heroic character on the occasion, and to have behaved with extraordinary kindness and magnanimity toward the crew and passengers, as far as the circumstances of the case would admit. His object was not to destroy life, but to obtain liberty—not to gratify a retaliatory disposition, but to assert the inalienable rights of man. He had it in his power to hurl into the deep every white person on board, but he nobly rose superior to revenge. It is plain, from the account of this transaction, that if no resistance had been made by the captain

* By the delay which has occurred in the printing of this Report, we are enabled to announce their safe arrival at Sierra Leone.

† See Appendix.

and crew, not one of them would have been injured—not a drop of blood would have been shed. Who that is ready to applaud the revolutionary conduct of GEORGE WASHINGTON or THOMAS JEFFERSON, will pass sentence of condemnation upon the self-emancipated freemen of the Creole ?

The southern papers are naturally indignant at the course pursued by the authorities at Nassau, in setting the slaves at liberty, and are loudly calling upon the American government to demand redress ! The New-Orleans Courier blusters in the following style, *a la Bombastes Furioso* :

“ In any event, that insolent and miserable meddler, John Bull, must be held responsible. And should he persist in his outrageous course, there can be no other alternative left, but for the American Eagle to make such a noise about his ears, as will awaken him from his fancied security ; considerably lighten the British exchequer ; arrest the piratical proceedings of fanatics on both sides of the water ; and punish the hypocrites, whose end and aim is the destruction of southern prosperity—American liberty and independence. It is said that Mr. Stevenson threw a bomb-shell into the British Cabinet, before his departure. The events on board the Creole, and the conduct of the Governor of Nassau, will fly like a rocket to the Capitol at Washington. Is not, then, an explosion between the two Governments inevitable, unless the *prudent* Duke of Wellington should decide that the time for a ‘big war’ is not yet ?”

The New-Orleans Advertiser says—

“ This affair of the Creole is the cap-sheaf of British aggression upon *American rights*. It strikes at the root of our intercourse with Great Britain, and overturns at one blow all our relations, amicable and commercial. If it be not promptly discountenanced, and ample reparation immediately made by her Majesty’s Government, there can be but one course for the United States to pursue—a course that the pride, honor and dignity of the nation, will sternly demand the execution of. The whole account of this nefarious transaction on the part of the British functionary, will startle the public, and excite a strong feeling of indignation in the breast of every American citizen.”

The New-Orleans Bulletin joins in the hue and cry as follows :

“ The circumstances of the mutiny and massacre, are of themselves sufficient to harrow up the feelings to the highest pitch. But when, in addition to the causes of excitement, the inhuman proceedings of the British authorities are brought into view, there is no telling where will be the limit of the public exasperation. It cannot be that our govern-

ment will longer submit with tame acquiescence to such gross and oft repeated invasions of *our national rights*. Remonstrance and expostulation have been tried long enough. If Great Britain will not listen to the voice of reason, resort must be had to some other mode of bringing her to her senses, and a just perception of the law of nations."

The Mobile Journal sounds the following alarm :

"The alarming consequence to this quarter of the Union, of suffering such pretensions as these to remain unsettled, of seeing a harbor opened in the neighboring islands, where runaways, mutineers and murderers will be received and protected by an alien sovereign, demands an immediate issue to the diplomacy so long pending. No man of any party in the South, at least, would have patience with executive, secretary or minister, who should trifle with their impatience, or compromise their rights on this subject."

The case of the Creole has been already twice brought before the U. S. Senate. On the 22d of December, Mr. BARROW, of Louisiana, presented a memorial from an Insurance Company in New-Orleans, which had taken the risk in this instance, and which had been called upon for indemnification by the owners of the slaves. This memorial was read, and, after a brief discussion, referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Mr. CALHOUN, of S. C. said—

"He regarded the case of the Creole as the most threatening that had ever come into contestation between the two governments. He considered it most remarkable, that, while the boardings and detentions of our vessels on the coast of Africa, the border troubles on the north eastern frontier, and *other matters of much less importance*, have received the attention of our government, this case has been entirely overlooked. It is high time that this question was settled, and that the South should understand whether their property should be protected from spoliation or not. He considered it one of the most *atrocious and insulting outrages* ever perpetrated by one civilized government upon another. He considered it *a case of naked piracy*; and our Government, as soon as the official report was received, should demand *the pirates* for punishment. He trusted that this Government would be true to itself, and prompt and ample reparation demanded; and if Great Britain refused to do us justice, he looked to every man who had an *American heart*, to raise his voice and his arm against such tyrannical (!) insolence and oppression.

Mr. KING, of Alabama, said—

"He foresaw with regret that it would lead to consequences deplorable to humanity. It was the lawless attempts of Great Britain, in her ambitious graspings at universal domination, which would *render war inevitable*, unless she retraces her steps, and does what is just between nation and nation. He hoped that the memorial would be printed and referred to the committee on foreign relations, and that they would investigate the matter, and see what has been done, and what ought to be done."

Mr. PRESTON, of S. C. said—

"The law of nations was clear (!) and imperative (!) on the questions in dispute between the two nations, and he thought that Great Britain would hardly come in conflict with this government on such an untenable position. The administration of that government was now in the hands of as enlightened and liberal-minded a statesman as ever guided the destinies of that great nation."

Mr. RIVES, of Virginia, said—

"It was impossible to look at all these circumstances, and not feel admonished of the propriety and the necessity of making all timely and proper preparations for defence."

Mr. BARROW said—

"His object in presenting the memorial was that Congress should act, and set forth to the country and the world, the principles of international law which were recognized by this country, and would be maintained by her at all hazards. He wished to trust this matter to other agents than the Executive and his Secretary, and the Secretary of the British Queen. The property of the South is unsafe, and if it is to be subjected to the plundering propensities of British officials, they would be compelled *to fit out armaments, and destroy Nassau and other nests of incendiaries and plunderers adjacent to our coast.*" !!

On the 11th of January, a discussion arose in the Senate, on the following resolution presented by Mr. CALHOUN :

Resolved, That the President of the U. S. be requested to furnish to the Senate, a copy of the protest of the officers and crew of the brig Creole, on her late passage from Richmond to New-Orleans, should any such have been received, or any authenticated account which may have been received of the murder of a passenger on board, and the wounding of the captain and mate, by the slaves on board, and of the occurrences which afterwards took place, particularly after the vessel was taken

into Nassau, New Providence ; and, also, to inform the Senate, if, in his opinion, it could be done consistently with the public interests, what step has been taken by the Executive in reference to the transaction, having for its object the punishment of the guilty, the redress of the wrong done to our citizens, and *the insult offered to the American flag.*"

In the course of the discussion, Mr. KING denounced the northern abolitionists as " a set of miserable fanatics and contemptible wretches, who were endeavoring, by every means in their power, to disturb the harmony of the government, to violate the rights of the southern people, and, if they could have their way, to destroy the government itself." He added—

"It was a question which was disposed of at an early period, that the citizens of the South were to have secured to them under the Constitution, *the right to hold slaves AGAINST THE WORLD*, and that they would be defended *at all hazard*. He could not believe that there were any *respectable* people of the United States, that were disposed to side with Great Britain on this question. If so, *he thought the days of this government were numbered*. The South had rights, and they would maintain them at all hazard, whether invaded at home, or violated abroad,"

Mr. CLAY, of Kentucky, said—

"He had seen the most authentic evidence of this transaction, and the protest made on the arrival of the vessel at New-Orleans by the officers left in command, who came into port with the vessel, and he read the whole narrative with the most thrilling and appalling feelings. The Creole had been thrown on the Bahama Islands by an act of *mutiny and murder*, and the question now arises, whether the British authorities would repudiate it, or give their sanction to *the enormity*, by saying in this case, also, that they refused all compensation for the slaves. If they did, what was the necessary consequence? That Americans would be virtually denied the *benefits of the coasting trade* (!) round their own country; for their vessels could not safely proceed from one of their ports to another with slaves on board, though they confined themselves legitimately to a *voyage to which no objection could be raised*. He hoped Great Britain would pause before she gave her sanction to the *enormity* on board the Creole, or let the consequences fall on her."

It will be seen that the alternative which is presented to Great Britain, in this discussion, is, either to make full redress for this "most atrocious and insulting outrage," this act of "tyrannical insolence and oppression," *in refusing to act the part of a slave-catcher for the South*, or to be prepared for a bloody con-

flict with the United States !! Is the North ready to go to war in defence of slavery and the slave trade ? If any sound inference can be drawn from the cowardice and submission of the northern senators, as exhibited in these debates, *she is !* Not one of them dared to open his lips in opposition to the atrocious sentiments advanced by the southern senators, or to give a silent vote against any of their insolent propositions ! Such men are traitors to the cause of liberty and justice, and conspirators against the peace and welfare of the country.

These quotations will suffice to show the feelings of southern slaveholders, in regard to this transaction. Doubtless, all the energy and talent that belong to the National Executive will be promptly exerted either to effect the surrender of the “mutineers,” or to obtain compensation for their loss. Thus are the people of the North compelled to unite in guarding the slave system from injury, and reducing to slavery such of its victims as may, from time to time, successfully assert their right to freedom by their own strong arms ! And yet they are continually told by the South, that slavery is no concern of theirs—that, so foreign is it from their legitimate responsibilities, they have no right even to discuss its merits !

It is not to be supposed, for one moment, that the British government will either punish any of those who actively participated in the revolt, or restore the emancipated slaves to their former masters. Nor will it submit to any claim for pecuniary compensation. Those victorious “chattels,” in rising against their oppressors, violated no law of the United States, of Great Britain, or of nations. Fourteen thousand slaves have escaped from this country to Canada, where they are now enjoying a state of freedom; but no call is made upon our government, by the South, to demand of England either their restoration, or in case of refusal, a full restitution in hard money. How is the case altered by the escape of southern slaves to any other British possession ? Even if the Creole fugitives were murderers, (as they are charged,) England is not bound by the law of nations to surrender them to us; nor does any treaty exist between the two countries, by which it is stipulated that “fugitives from justice” shall be mutually surrendered to each other. The conclusion, then, to which we must come is well expressed by the Salem Observer—“If we must fight with Great Britain, let us fight for the rights of man and the rights of nations, and not for slavery. Slavery is a bad affair, and will always continue to make trouble for us as long as

it lasts. The best course for the South to pursue, after all, is to knuckle to the circumstances, subdue their wounded pride, and get rid of slavery in the best possible manner."

At the extra session of Congress, the nomination of EDWARD EVERETT as minister to the Court of St. James, was sent by the President to the Senate, but was by that body laid on the table, it is said with a view to its being withdrawn, in consequence of Mr. E's alleged heresies on the subject of slavery! The excitement which temporarily grew out of this procedure, throughout the free States, especially on the part of the whig presses, was so intense, and led to such threats of retaliation, that the slaveholding spirit quailed before it, and the nomination was at last allowed to be confirmed by a very small majority. To show in what spirit this daring attempt to proscribe Mr. EVERETT was met, we subjoin a few brief extracts.

The first is from the New-York Commercial Advertiser, a paper notoriously hostile to the anti-slavery movement:

"Let the people of the South, of all parties, pause, before they ask more of us, or push us farther. Let them not, because we are ready to support, and even *defend* them in all the rights secured to them by the Constitution, presume farther to require that we shall become the *advocates* of slavery. Let them not require of us to believe in the *humanity of slavery*, or in its *advantages*, as *political economists*, or in the *righteousness of the traffic in human flesh*—in the bodies, if not in the souls of men! Let the people of the South—let their Senators and Representatives in Congress beware, we say, of making such an issue with the North. And we now call upon the Senators of the free States, as one man,—we care not for party upon this question,—at once to take ground upon this issue, if presented. We call upon the Senators of Massachusetts, Vermont, Maine, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey—to meet the question, if presented in the case of Edward Everett: and, should he be rejected upon the ground indicated, by an unhalloved union between the whig Senators of the South and the opposition,—let the whig Senators from the North see to it that no foreign minister be appointed who is a slaveholder! God forbid that such an issue should be presented; but, if forced upon us, we trust it will be met as FREEMEN ought to meet it."

The next is from the Fall River Monitor:—

"The nomination of this noble son of old Massachusetts still awaits the action of the Senate. From every section of the country, we hear the inquiry, why is this delay in a nomination which ought to have been

promptly responded to. Nor is the inquiry confined to the whig party alone. If, by this delay, the South are tampering with the rights of the North, and thus adding insult to injury, and if this course is long persisted in, they may find, when it is too late, that they have mistaken their course altogether. We are unwilling to harbor a doubt that the nomination of Mr. Everett will be confirmed by the Senate. Not only cannot a better nomination be made, but, under the existing state of things, *the harmony of the different sections of the country demands thus much from the South.*"

The following is from the Lowell Journal:

"In this way, a general proscription for opinion's sake is to be commenced against all the public men of the free States—barely for the sin of not thinking well of *slavery*, as an institution consistent with moral light or *true liberty*. This is said to be the ground assumed by Senators of the South, in sufficient number to defeat the leading northern nominations. God grant it may turn out otherwise.

But enough has already transpired to call upon the press in the free States to speak out their sentiments. It is a case which admits of no equivoke. If the South want discussion on the subject, the North have no reason to withhold it. If they insist upon making that a political question, *we* shall not flinch from its consequences. The North will never submit to this treatment. They will, they must retaliate. They will treat southern nominations in the same manner. Nay, more, they will lay the axe at the root of the evil, and call for an amendment of the *constitution itself*, that the subject *may* become one of federal legislation. But, says some southern Hotspur, "We will dissolve the Union." That, *we* reply, is your old threat. It has lost its terror. *We too would rather dissolve it, than to submit to proscription for opinions.* We, too, would rather dissolve the Union, hallowed as it is in our heart of hearts, than take your beloved institution of slavery to our bosoms, or live proscribed for expressing any opinion which we happen to entertain upon liberty and slavery."

The Boston Daily Times spoke in the following decisive strain :

"We are glad to see that the mere rumor that such a monstrous and unjust principle is to be made the rule of action in the Senate, has occasioned wide-spread animadversion. Political prints, who have repeatedly denounced abolitionism, speak out freely and severely against the contemplated infringement of northern rights, and disregard of northern feelings. Business men, who remain unaffected by all declamation about "oppressed humanity," "down-trodden slave," "padlocked lips," and the like, and who have ever been considered by abolitionists as the last to do any thing for conscience sake, speak out distinctly their protest against this new phase of southern policy. Northern men, from very dissimilar motives, will all unite in opposition to it. If the South

really desires a dissolution of the Union, its policy is well adapted to effect the purpose, for a serious rupture is sure to follow such plain injustice. Let the southern Senators, before they assert the monstrous principle which they are suspected to hold, reflect upon the consequences. They will *abolitionize* the North, and convert friends into opponents. On them will rest the responsibility of breaking up the union of the States, and their names will "fester in the infamy of years."

The following was the language of the New-York Whig:

"If the South wishes to render every man at the North an abolitionist, and to sow the dragon's teeth of discord in our land, which shall spring up like those of the antique fable, "*armed men*"—if she wishes for a "dissolution of the Union," let her reject the nomination of northern men for the reasons which she assigns for the rejection of Mr. Everett's, *and her wishes will be gratified*. For it was not that her great men should be ostracised from office, that New-England freely contributed of her blood and treasures to acquire our independence. It was not for this that Massachusetts and Rhode Island went to the assistance of feeble and inert South Carolina and Virginia; rolled back the tide of war from her borders, and *gave them* freedom from their enemies, whom they did not even pretend to cope with."

Seeing how portentous was the storm that was brewing at the North, the sagacious editors of the National Intelligencer adopted the following conciliatory tone:

"What connection has his (MR. EVERETT'S) notion of slavery with the duties of his mission to England? *He is not one of the Garrison gang*. So far from it, he has been one of the most steadfast friends of southern rights in the North; and, where he could not agree on the abstract question, he has not sought in practice to molest us in any wise. But, independent of the right and justice involved in the question, have gentlemen looked to the consequences of making the abstract question of slavery a test of political orthodoxy? To our minds, they are of the gravest character. *They go to the severance of the Union*. Every man north of Mason and Dixon's line will become an abolitionist. Section will be arrayed against section. If the North is proscribed for not holding slavery to be a blessing, the South will be put under the ban for not considering it a curse. We beg southern gentlemen, of all political parties, to pause before they cast this fresh firebrand, *which may ignite the fabric of the Union*. As a mere matter of policy, too, the South should be the last to raise such a question, *unless the dissolution of the Union be desirable*. The whole North are as much abolitionists as MR. EVERETT; and if he be proscribed, they will—it is but natural and reasonable that they should make common cause with him."

The following were the Yeas and Nays upon MR. EVERETT'S nomination:

YEAS—Messrs. Bates, Berrien, Choate, Clay, of Kentucky, Clayton, Dixon, Evans, Graham, Huntington, Mangum, Merrick, Miller, Morehead, Phelps, Porter, Prentiss, Rivers, Simmons, Smith, of Indiana, Southard, Tallmadge, White, Woodbridge—23.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Archer, Benton, Buchanan, Calhoun, Clay, of Alabama, Cuthbert, Fulton, King, Linn, McRoberts, Mouton, Preston, Sevier, Smith, of Connecticut, Sturgeon, Tappan, Woodbury, Young—19.

In the Legislature of Georgia, in December last, the "committee on the state of the republic" made a report, in which they condemned MR. BERRIEN for his vote in favor of MR. EVERETT, and reasoned as follows:

"The ground upon which opposition to that appointment was based, is believed by this committee to be a sound one, which, if it had been carried out by the rejection of Mr. Everett, *would have exercised a salutary influence in allaying abolition movements*, and thus have contributed both to the peace and security of the whole country."

It is, perhaps, to be regretted, that the rejection of EDWARD EVERETT was not persisted in by the southern congressional senators; for, instead of allaying the anti-slavery feeling of the country, it would have raised such a commotion as the land has not yet seen. It is worthy of remark, that the bare possibility that his nomination would be repudiated by the Senate, excited more indignation and uproar at the North, than the enslavement of one sixth part of the American people has called forth for two centuries! A dissolution of the Union was talked of as an almost necessary consequence! In all this, there was no real regard for northern rights, or the cause of humanity. It was nothing better than the fiery ebullition of sectional pride, party favoritism, and personal idolatry.*

* A striking illustration of the truth of this assertion is seen in the total indifference with which the treatment of another citizen of Massachusetts, at least equally worthy, though less conspicuous, was regarded by the northern press. We allude to the case of JOSHUA COFFIN, who, having been appointed by the Postmaster in Philadelphia to the humble but responsible office of letter-carrier for that city, was suddenly dismissed from that office, by the peremptory mandate of "the powers that be" at Washington, for the crime of being an abolitionist!!! In no one instance has the omnipotent and omnipresent power of slavery been more clearly manifested than in the case of this persecuted man.

When he was a candidate for Governor of this Commonwealth, Mr. EVERETT, on being interrogated as to his views of slavery in the District of Columbia and the inter-state slave trade, endorsed the peculiar views and doctrines of the abolitionists, on these and other points, as his own. It is a somewhat singular circumstance, that his first act, as minister to England, will in all probability be, to espouse the side of slavery in the case of the Creole ! May he nobly refuse to pay homage to that "dark spirit !"

Early in September last, a terrible pro-slavery riot broke out in Cincinnati, which continued to rage with unobstructed fury for several days,—the abolitionists and the colored people being, as usual, the victims of lawless violence. The ostensible cause of it was a petty quarrel between some colored persons and white "rowdies," in which the latter were vanquished; but it was evidently a preconcerted movement got up to propitiate the South. From Friday night till Sunday morning, the mob held undisputed sway, setting all law at defiance. In many instances, it was encouraged, and in some led on, by a band of conspirators from Kentucky. They declared that they had been sent for, and that "hundreds of others were organized, and ready to come to rid the city of the negroes and abolitionists." In some cases, too, the movements of the mob were directed and managed by mere boys, who suggested the points of attack and the object, put the vote, declared the result, and led the way. During all this time, no attempt was made by the city authorities to preserve the peace. Finding themselves abandoned to the fury of their fiendish assailants, the colored inhabitants armed themselves as well as they could, and for a time made successful resistance. A number of persons, on both sides, were badly wounded, but no lives lost. At the first pause of the tempest, the colored people held a meeting in a church, and respectfully assured the mayor and the citizens, that they would use every effort to conduct as orderly, industrious and peaceable people, and to suppress any imprudent conduct among their population, and to ferret out all violations of order and law—deprecated the practice of carrying about their persons any dangerous weapon, pledged themselves not to carry or keep any about their persons or houses, and expressed their readiness to surrender all such—to conform to the law of 1807, and give bonds, or to leave within a specified time. Trusting to receive all needful protection from the city authorities, they cheerfully allowed themselves to be disarmed, but were dealt with most treacherously. All the the males were marched

to jail for security, (!) leaving their wives, children and property defenceless, and the mob in full possession of the ground! "Think, for one moment," says the Cincinnati Gazette, "of a band calling themselves *men*, disarming, carrying away and securing in prison, the male negroes, promising security and protection to their women and children—and while they were confidently reposing in that security, returning with hellish shouts, to attack these helpless and unprotected persons!"

The Cincinnati Republican expressed its views of these enormities as follows:

"To us, the brutal outrages committed upon the persons and property of the blacks, are the foulest of all the events that occurred. They were disarmed. The faith of the rioters! was pledged to protect them. Yet while thus defenceless, when the men had been removed to the jail for safe keeping, the mob attacked their property, destroyed it, drove out the women and children from their houses, and some ruffians went even so far as to ravish the person of a young black girl! What a picture! What a tale to tell of a civilized city!

The first attack of the mob, which resulted in the destruction of property, was directed against the office of the Philanthropist about dusk. There were two presses destroyed, one of which was taken down Main street, a very considerable distance to the river, into which it was thrown. We cannot understand why the mob was not prevented in this proceeding. Did not the authorities anticipate an attack on that office? and why was not the police concentrated on the spot? There were attacks made at various points at the same time, but the Philanthropist office, it was evident, would be the chief point at which difficulty was to be apprehended. The house of Mr. Burnet on Fifth street was also attacked between 8 and 9 o'clock, and demolished. The mob then partially demolished the church on Sixth street, together with several houses in that vicinity owned by the negroes,—a shop on Columbia near Sycamore: several houses belonging to negroes on Western Row, near the river, were also destroyed. An attempt was made to fire or otherwise destroy the Book establishment of Messrs. Truman & Smith on Main street, but ineffectually."

Another account says—

"The manner in which the poor colored people were treated on Saturday, was shocking. Small bands, sometimes composed of mere boys, with clubs, and other weapons, went all over the city, instituting inquisitorial searches, demanding the persons of colored servants, and driving them off like brutes to the negro quarters, as they were called. The object, it is said, was protection. The real object was, to pen the negroes up together, that they might be disarmed, and placed at the

mercy of the mob, *and of the slave-hunter*. A slaveholder, we are told, living in Cincinnati, and belonging to the Methodist Episcopal church, was busied, among others, on Saturday, *hunting in the pen for a few slaves lost some time since.*" (!!!)

A meeting of the citizens was convened on Saturday, September 4th, by proclamation of the mayor, at the court-house, ostensibly to preserve the peace of the city. The mayor (SAMUEL W. DAVIES) presided on the occasion. To show the hypocritical and infamous character of the meeting, and how well adapted it was to kindle still more fiercely the fires of mobocracy, while professing to deplore the excesses that had been committed, we quote the following among other resolutions that were passed on the occasion:

Resolved, That the township trustees proceed immediately to execute the law of 1807, requiring negroes and mulattoes to give bonds.*

Resolved, That we will abide by the law, disclaiming all violence, but carrying it out to the letter, until our citizens are relieved of the effect of modern abolitionism—and our southern brethren may be assured that this is no idle move, but will be carried out in good faith.

Resolved, That every negro who escapes from his master, and comes within our borders, shall be delivered up, under the law of Congress, forthwith.

Resolved, That the civil authorities, headed by the Mayor and Sheriff of the County, proceed at once to the dwellings of the blacks, and disarm them of all offensive weapons—and that vigorous search be made for any and all offenders against the laws of this State and city, and that all offenders be at once proceeded against in the manner provided by law.

Resolved, That we view with abhorrence the proceedings of the abolitionists in our city, and that we repudiate their doctrines, and believe it to be the duty of every good citizen, by all lawful means, to discountenance every man who lends them his assistance."

* The chairman of the committee who reported these resolutions, and the master-spirit of the meeting, was J. W. PIATT—than whom, says the Cincinnati Philanthropist, "no man has been more bitter in proscription of the colored people—none more earnest in enforcing the law of 1807, requiring of them bonds and security, than J. W. Piatt. Now, it so happens, that this gentleman is clerk of the Court, and that for every certificate given on bond and security being offered, the clerk of the court receives one dollar! As it is well to avoid even the appearance of evil, we would advise Mr. P. hereafter to leave it to others less interested to insist on the bond and security law."

The Philanthropist gives the following account of the origin of this disgraceful riot :

" Kentucky and the South had denounced Cincinnati as rank with abolitionism, and the decision of Judge Lane as a violation of their rights. They had demanded from Cincinnati again and again, through the press and public meetings, a demonstration on her part, that she was sound on the subject of slavery ; and opposed to her own courts. They had demanded this, on pain of withdrawing their trade and travel. Their demand had been enforced by the Cincinnati Enquirer, the democratic paper, which has again and again called upon the citizens of Cincinnati to put down the abolitionists. Tired of waiting, citizens of Kentucky, in concert with traders on the river, and some of our own citizens, had concerted a mob, which was precipitated by the street brawls spoken of in the papers ; and now strangers were in our midst, bent on violence. In craven submission, Cincinnati surrenders at discretion—a conquered province of the slaveholder. A public meeting, assuming to represent its real sentiment, adopts resolutions, conceding all to the mob ; agreeing to reinforce laws, which in fact are but lynch laws, by authority of the General Assembly—assuring " our southern brethren that this is no idle move, but will be carried out in good faith"—holding up abolitionists to public abhorrence, which then could mean nothing else but mob-abhorrence—and proscribing " every man who lends them assistance." They go further. They resolve to disarm the blacks. This, of itself, is enough to fix the brand, *Mor*, on this " Citizens' Meeting." The negroes had defended themselves successfully. The mob had no hope of vengeance, while they were permitted to retain their arms. The meeting resolves to disarm them ; the very last resort of tyranny—an unconstitutional, a most abominable resolution.

The slaveholder has triumphed. All he required, is granted. The evening of that day consummates his triumph. The " move," sure enough, is no " idle" one, but is " carried out in good faith" towards " our southern brethren." Two presses are thrown into the river, property to the amount of thousands of dollars is destroyed ; and, as if to make the infamy of the city beyond all parallel, after having disarmed the blacks, marched the men to jail, and pledged the faith of the city to protect their wives, and children, and property, the mob is suffered to demolish their houses, break open their trunks and bureaus, and violate their women ! Hell itself must tremble at such an atrocity ; and if this city does not humble itself in dust and ashes, Heaven's curse will yet sink it lower than Sodom."

For the third time, the press of the Philanthropist was broken in peices by the mob, and cast into the river. The loss sustained by the editor and printer was about one thousand dollars. Intimidated by the perils that surrounded them, some of the aboli-

tionists in the city sought to persuade Dr. BAILEY, (the able editor of that paper,) not to persevere in his course; but he nobly disregarded such pernicious counsel, and avowed his determination to remain at his post. His language was—

“ We have been advised by many to suspend the publication of our paper. We cannot do it. It would be a sacrifice of the right of free discussion, we should blush to make. Many prudent ones say that they cannot think of risking their lives to protect us in our imprudence. If it be imprudent to maintain our rights without flinching, may God help us always to be imprudent. And if it be generous to abandon us for planting ourselves upon rights given by Heaven, and guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the State, God save us from such generosity. No, friends, the *Philanthropist* must be published. The war has now become openly, a war against free discussion, and shall we give back? We are not ambitious to be a martyr—life to us is precious—but, we are willing, Heaven helping us, to suffer all things, rather than turn traitor to a cause we have so long advocated—a cause, identified with the highest interests of man—a cause which God approves, and will conduct to a glorious issue, whatever the fate of its advocates.”

Admiring the nobility of soul thus heroically displayed—anxious to aid in the purchase of another press for the *Philanthropist*—and deeply sympathizing with its editor in his perilous position—the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was immediately directed by the Board, to forward to Dr. BAILEY the sum of one hundred dollars, and to express their regret that the pecuniary condition of the Society would not admit of a larger donation. A letter of condolence and encouragement was also sent to him, in behalf of the Board.* These were gratefully received and acknowledged. The natural effect of the riot was to establish the *Philanthropist* on a more solid foundation; to give fresh vitality to the anti-slavery cause in Ohio; and to excite indignation and horror throughout the non-slaveholding States.

Of the numerous other important events that have occurred during the past year, no notice can be taken in this Report. They are all recorded, however, in the various anti-slavery journals and publications, which the historian of our great enterprise will not fail to explore for the instruction and edification of posterity.

Intelligence has been received, that our late worthy colored fellow-citizen, Mr. JAMES G. BARBADOES (formerly a member of

* See Appendix.

this Board,) died at St. Ann's Bay, (Jamaica,) on the 22d of June last, of the "West India fever," aged 45. Mr. BARBADOES was among the emigrants who went from this section of the country, in 1840, to the island of Jamaica, hoping to better his condition; but, in common with them, he soon found that he had been woefully duped by the flattering representations that had been held out by persons in the pay of the West India proprietors. Two of his children died before him. His afflicted widow, with the remainder of her family, has since arrived in Boston, in a state of destitution. Mr. BARBADOES was one of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments of the National Anti-Slavery Convention, held in Philadelphia in 1833—making the sixth who has gone down to the grave since that period—viz. EVAN LEWIS, THOMAS SHIPLEY, EDWIN P. ATLEE, JOHN R. SLEEPER, (all of Philadelphia,) DANIEL SOUTHMAYD, and JAMES G. BARBADOES.* The whole number of signers was sixty-two. Mr. BARBADOES, on his way to the Convention, was compelled (though in a feeble state of health) to remain on the deck of a Providence steamboat all night, without shelter, in the wintry month of December: in consequence of which exposure, he was prostrated with sickness for many weeks, and perhaps never fully recovered from the effects of it to the day of his death. So brutal, so murderous, is the spirit of prejudice in this country toward our colored population.

Among the efficient friends of our Society, during the past year, who have not spared of their means to sustain our operation, we trust it will not be thought invidious to record here, the name of JOHN C. GORE, of Roxbury. Since the last annual meeting, we have received from his liberality a valuable piece of land in Roxbury, a pew, and two pictures of great value—one a portrait, in perfect preservation, of a female of the Medici family, an undoubted work of that prince of portrait painters, Vandyke, and for nearly two centuries an ornament of the Ricciardi palace in Florence—the other, a master-piece of our own Stuart.

The Society has realized upwards of seven hundred dollars by a sale of the land, and the other property is estimated to be of the value of not less than a thousand dollars more. It is, however, not alone the munificence of these gifts which requires commemoration. The testimony borne to the soundest principles in the manner of conferring them, claims more than a passing notice. We refer the Society to the appendix to this Report for a copy of

* Since this was written, another of the signers has fallen—the Rev. JOHN FROST, of Whitesboro', a man greatly respected and beloved.

the deed of conveyance, by which Mr. Gore-bears emphatic witness to his attachment at once to the cause of pure religion and of human freedom.

In regard to the pecuniary condition of the Society, it will be seen by the Report of the Treasurer, that a balance of \$526,50 is left in the Treasury, after the payment of all outstanding debts. This intelligence cannot fail to be highly gratifying to all the friends of the Society. To this cheering result, the anti-slavery women of Massachusetts have liberally contributed, assisted by their female coadjutors on the other side of the Atlantic. Their eighth annual State Fair was held in Boston on Christmas week, surpassing in the abundance and elegance of its materials, the beauty of its arrangements, and the amount of its proceeds, each one of the series. Between fifty and sixty towns participated in this charitable effort. The valuable presents from the women of England, Scotland and Ireland, which were brought over by Mr. REMOND, excited the admiration of a great throng of visitors, and rendered the Fair unusually attractive. Special thanks are given by the Committee of Arrangements "to ELIZABETH PEASE, Mrs. BEVAN, Miss ASHURST, Miss STURGE, ANNE KNIGHT—to the women of Glasgow—to the WEBBS, the HAUGHTONS, the ALLENS, of Dublin—to the Cork Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society—to the POOLES, the FISHERS, the JENNINGS, the WHITES, the HYNDMANS, the HUTTONS, and all the true hearts that love freedom, with whom we are thus united in a principle transcending the limits of country and clime." The proceeds of the Fair amounted to three thousand dollars, more than two thousand of which were generously contributed to extricate the State Anti-Slavery Society from all its pecuniary embarrassments. Among the patrons of the Fair was Lord MORPETH, of England, (now on a visit to this country,) who manifested a cordial interest in its success, both by his frequent attendance and liberal purchases.

Since his return from England, the General Agent of the Society has been indefatigable in his labors to advance the cause in this Commonwealth. The following extract is taken from a recent communication made by him to the public:

"In the prosecution of my agency, [in August last,] I have visited upwards of sixty towns and parishes—have delivered more than ninety lectures—have been at several conventions—have been present at sixteen county meetings—have attended four State meetings; and in accomplishing this, I have been under the necessity of travelling three

thousand five hundred miles. FREDERIC DOUGLAS, a fugitive from slavery, has travelled much of the time with me. Though he has never been favored with the advantages of an education, his style of speaking is chaste, free and forcible—his enunciation clear and distinct—his manner deliberate and energetic, alike free from tameness and ranting vehemence. His descriptions of slavery are most graphic, and his arguments are so lucid, and occasionally so spiced with pleasantry, and sometimes with a little satire, that his addresses, though long, are seldom tedious, but are listened to with the most profound attention. He is capable of performing a vast amount of good for his oppressed race."

It will be the object of the Board, during the ensuing year, to send into the field as many suitable and efficient laborers as the means of the Society will allow. The demand for lecturers continues to be importunate on the part of the people, and this we shall endeavor promptly to meet, as far as we can act without involving the Society in debt. Though Massachusetts is unquestionably the pioneer State in the anti-slavery enterprise, still she is very far from being thoroughly abolitionized, and a mighty effort is yet to be made to free her from all participation in the guilt and danger of the slave system. What lies before us,—how this great struggle is to terminate,—whether the republic will be brought to repentance, and live, or be given over to hardness of heart and blindness of mind, and perish,—what new dangers and trials await us, to prove our sincerity and devotedness,—Omniscience only knows. It is for us to perform our duty in the fear of God, leaving the results in his hands, and to PERSEVERE UNTO THE END.

Dr.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in account with their Treasurer, S. Philbrick,

Cr.

1841. *For Cash paid lecturing agents, as follows:—*

To Sumner Lincoln, balance in full,	\$394.55	1841.	Jan. 23.	By balance of old account transferred,	\$483.28
" John S. Hall,	44.53			By amount from Fair of Salem A. S. Society,	100.00
" Cyrus M. Burleigh,	25.60			" " Fair of Lynn A. S. Society,	200.00
" Richard Hood,	84.50			" " Sale of Tickets at the Chardon St. Chapel meeting in August, 1841,	47.00
" J. P. Bishop,	15.78			" " sale of books at Depository,	138.33
" S. S. Foster,	35.50			" " Fair of Millbury Female A. S. S.	30.00
" Parker Pillsbury,	133.01			" " sale of donation of land from John C. Gore, of Roxbury,	703.00
" Frederick Douglass, in full to January 1, 1842,	170.34			" " sales of articles from Fair of Mass. A. S. S. in Boston, in 1840,	30.72
To John A. Collins, in full to January 1, 1842,	1,442.73			1842.	
For 200 copies Garrison's portrait,	100.00			Jan'y.	
For use of Halls at sundry times,	123.00			" " Fair of Mass. A. S. S. in Boston, in Dec. 1841,	1,700.00
For amount paid at sundry times to A. A. S. S.,	497.50			" " Nantucket, 1841,	200.00
For sundry bills, printing and binding,	191.10			" " New Bedford, 1841,	283.00
For sundry bills, paper, including old unsettled balances,	179.27			" " donations from county and town societies, and from individuals during the year, as published monthly in the Liberator,	3,537.70
For sundry bills, expenses of A. S. Fair in 1840	49.72				
For bill furniture for Board room,	9.00				
For amount paid over to Hiram Wilson, a special donation,	5.00				
For amount paid Draft on Cincinnati, per order of the Board, in aid of Philanthropist,					
For expenses on sale of land from J. C. Gore,	94.00			Total receipts during the year,	\$7,613.03
For Fire Policy, \$12.50,—Advertising \$15.26	16.85			1842. Jan. 15. By balance, in Treasury	\$526.50
For balance E. Holden's demand for con. boxes,	27.76				
For rent of office and Board room, 25 Cornhill,	39.71				
For amount paid over to N. P. Rogers, from proceeds of Nantucket A. S. Fair per advice,	340.00				
For amount paid borrowed loans,	40.00				
" amount paid interest on do.	2,830.00				
" miscellaneous items of expense,	162.25				
	6.83				
Balance in Treasury,	526.50				
Total amount paid in during the year,	7,086.53				
Total,	\$7,613.03				

S. PHILBRICK, *Treasurer.*

Brookline, January 15, 1842.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT,

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

VICE PRESIDENTS,

Seth Sprague, Duxbury,
Andrew Robeson, New-Bedford,
Nathaniel B. Borden, Fall River,
George T. Davis, Greenfield,
Stillman Lothrop, Lexington,
Amos Farnsworth, Groton,
Samuel J. May, S. Scituate,
Joseph Southwick, Boston,
Adin Ballou, Mendon,
J. M. Fiske, Lee,
J. T. Everett, Princeton,
E. L. Capron, Uxbridge,
Jefferson Church, Springfield,

Horatio S. Wood, Middleboro',
Josiah Gifford, Sandwich,
Geo. Bradburn, Nantucket,
Sumner Lincoln, Gardner,
Wm. B. Earle, Worcester,
Samuel May, Leicester,
Harris Cowdry, Acton,
Nathan Webster, Haverhill,
Wm. Adam, Northampton,
—— Hoyt, Athol,
—— Lock, Barre,
William Bassett, Lynn.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.

RECORDING SECRETARY,

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, Boston.

TREASURER,

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

AUDITOR,

SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

Ellis Gray Loring,
Wendell Phillips,
John T. Hilton,
Joshua V. Himes,
John Rogers,
Maria W. Chapman,

Edmund Jackson,
Edmund Quincy,
Samuel Philbrick,
John A. Collins,
Henry G. Chapman,
C. L. Remond,

A P P E N D I X.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Melodeon, in Boston, commencing on Wednesday, the 26th of January, 1842.

Francis Jackson, the President, in the chair.

William Bassett, of Lynn, and Anne Warren Weston, of Weymouth, were appointed Assistant Secretaries.

The following persons were appointed a Business Committee :

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston ; Wendell Phillips, of do. ; Wm. Adam, of Northampton ; George Bradburn, of Nantucket ; Maria W. Chapman, of Boston ; Edmund Quincy, of Dedham ; and Charles Lenox Remond, of Salem.

Committee on the Roll and Finance, Sam'l. Philbrick, John A. Collins, and George Foster.

George Adams, of Boston, offered a resolution, which, on motion of George Bradburn, was laid on the table.

Voted, That all persons present, or who may be present, be invited to take part in the deliberations of this meeting.

On motion of S. Philbrick, of Brookline,

Voted, That a committee of one person from each county represented be appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The following persons were chosen, viz :—

Seth Sprague, of Plymouth County ; J. T. Everett, of Worcester ; H. A. Morse, of Middlesex ; A. Sanger, of Essex ; W. C. Coffin, of Bristol ; Abner Belcher, of Norfolk ; H. B. Louge, of Suffolk ; Wm. Adam, of Hampshire ; and George Bradburn, of Nantucket.

Edmund Quincy, from the Business Committee, presented the following resolution, viz:—

Resolved, That the course taken by Governor Seward of the State of New-York, in relation to the late infamous demands of the Executives of the States of Virginia and Georgia, for the delivery of certain American citizens, audaciously claimed by those Executives as chattels personal ; and of certain other American citizens, charged, impudently as absurdly, with criminality, in having aided the former in obtaining the liberty of

which they had been robbed from their birth; is in the highest degree honorable to him as the Executive of a free Commonwealth, and eminently entitles him to both the gratitude and the admiration of every friend of humanity.

Col. J. P. Miller, of Vermont, moved its adoption, and made some remarks in support of it. It was further discussed by Mr. Jewett, of R. I. and J. C. Fuller, of New-York.

Col. Miller then withdrew his motion for adoption, and moved the recommitment of the resolution, which was carried.

The Treasurer, S. Philbrick, then read his report—which, on motion of H. A. Morse, was accepted, remarks having been made by H. A. Morse, J. C. Fuller, J. A. Collins, and G. W. Stacy. The receipts during the year were \$7,613 03—expenditures, \$7,086 53. The Society is out of debt.

Voted to adjourn to 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON.

Met according to adjournment.

The resolution reported from the Business Committee in the morning was taken up and adopted.

E. Quincy, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That by all the principles on which we eulogize George Washington and his brave compeers, who delivered their countrymen from the chains of British oppression, we are bound to laud the courage and heroism of the Americans on board the Creole, who, rising on their oppressors, secured to themselves, by their own strong arm, the inalienable right of liberty, of which American citizens had most basely robbed them.

E. Quincy, on behalf of the Business Committee, reported a resolution, recommending a course of operations to be pursued by the Society, which was discussed by J. A. Collins, W. Phillips, Col. Miller, Jas. N. Buffum, Samuel Reed, Seth Sprague, John H. Spear, Sylvanus Brown, J. T. Everett,—when, on motion of J. T. Everett, it was referred to a committee consisting of the following persons, to take the subject into consideration, and report to this meeting, viz:—J. A. Collins, of Suffolk, Abby Kelley, of Worcester, G. W. Stacy, of Worcester, Spear, of Norfolk, Dr. Farnsworth, of Middlesex, Morton, of Plymouth, N. Webster, of Essex, Bradburn, of Nantucket, and Coffin, of New-Bedford.

James N. Buffum was added to the Committee on the Roll and Finance.

The following resolution, from the Business Committee, was then taken up, and, on motion, laid on the table:

Resolved, That the portion of the marriage law of this Commonwealth which relates to the intermarriage of persons belonging to different races, by offering, as it does, direct encouragement to prostitution, robbery,

and slander, is a gross violation of the principles alike of Christianity and Republicanism; and that every member of our Legislature refusing to vote for its abrogation, is himself palpably recreant to those principles.

The Business Committee then reported the following resolution, which was discussed by Dr. Brown, Col. Miller, Hon. Seth Sprague, J. C. Fuller, T. Jinnings, of Boston, and N. P. Rogers:

Resolved, That the character of our country's institutions, the circumstances of society, and the nature of the evil we are associated to abolish, all show us that appeals to conscience—arguments—the spreading of information—in a word, the formation of a correct public opinion—are the best and only sure means of effecting our object.

Resolved, That the formation of a third political party is a waste of means, which, in the present state of our enterprize, is ruinous,—a misdirection of effort, whose least evil results will be the retarding of our cause; that, in an enterprize whose only hope of a candid hearing lies in the pure motives of its friends, and whose whole strength is in strict adherence to principle, such an organization is calculated to lower the standard both of principles and motives, and be a constant temptation to compromise the first, to gain allies whose only motive for union is common interest, and not common faith; that the partial good it might effect, the most sanguine have no right to compare with the certain evil which must result from the influence of those, neither single-hearted nor sound in principle, whom party necessities and other considerations would gather around the cause; and that we feel authorized to declare such an organization uncalled for, unwise, unnecessary, and ruinous—a measure which nothing but distrust of the power of truth could dictate, and which can only be viewed as the hopeless effort of despair.

Resolved, That this Society seizes this opportunity to renew its testimony against any attempt to form a third political party, reaffirming to the friends of the cause their conviction of its mistaken policy, on the same grounds, and to the same extent, as when the project was first started; warning them that the events of the last two years should only deepen our anxiety in regard to it, and strengthen our conviction of fatal error; that fidelity to the slave, and the real interests of humanity, alike call upon every abolitionist to bear a constant and faithful testimony in word and deed against a mistake freighted with ruin.

Voted to adjourn to half-past 6.

EVENING SESSION.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment, the President in the chair.

Mr. Rogers yielded the floor to Mr. Pierce, of Lexington, who moved that the resolution before the meeting be laid upon the table, for the introduction of other resolutions, which motion was negatived.

The resolution before the meeting at the time of adjournment was discussed by Mr. Rogers.

On motion of John A. Collins, it was laid on the table.

Mr. Collins, on behalf of a Committee, reported the following resolutions:

The committee, to whom was referred the resolution relating to the op-

erations of this Society for the coming year, respectfully report the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Board of Managers of this Society be recommended to employ and distribute ten agents over this Commonwealth, that our principles and periodicals may be carried into every school district, provided the Board can secure the services of such persons as will prosecute their agency with ability and efficiency: believing that the abolitionists of the State will not only feel it a duty, but a privilege, to enable the Board to sustain them.

Resolved, That as there are many abolitionists in this Commonwealth, who, if they were countenanced and encouraged by this Board, might effect much in holding district meetings, circulating our publications and periodicals, the Board are respectfully requested to take into consideration the importance of appointing such, as local agents.

Resolved, That this Society ought not only to sustain an efficient agency in Massachusetts, but it ought to contribute liberally to the American A. S. Society, that it may be enabled to furnish destitute portions of the Free States with a knowledge of our principles.

Resolved, That it is important that pledges and contributions be now taken up to sustain this Society for the coming year.

Resolved, That this meeting recommends to the several county societies in this State, the propriety of so altering their constitutions as that their quarterly meetings may be dispensed with.

On motion of E. Quincy, the discussion of these resolutions was postponed to to-morrow morning.

The Business Committee, on behalf of Mr. Pierce, of Lexington, reported the following series of resolutions, which, after remarks by Mr. Pierce, were laid upon the table:

1. Resolved, As the sense of this meeting, that it is not by the use of opprobrious epithets, and harsh and sweeping denunciations, but by speaking the truth in love, that abolitionists will best promote the cause of justice and truth.

2. Resolved, As the sense of this meeting, that in their writings, public discussions and private conversations, abolitionists should refrain from the indiscriminate censure and denunciation of whole classes and associations of persons, as the clergy, and churches of various denominations—and all those who refuse to unite with them—regarding such censure and denunciation as unjust, and highly impolitic.

3. Resolved, As the sense of this meeting, that the proposing, advocating, or sustaining such resolutions as the following, (which were discussed at a recent Anti-Slavery meeting,)—‘ That the religion of the United States of America is one vast system of atheism and idolatry, which, in atrocity and vileness, equals that of any system in the heathen countries of Asia or Africa, or the islands of the Pacific ocean—that the sectarian churches and the ministry of this country are combinations of thieves, adulterers and pirates, and not the churches and ministers of Jesus Christ; and should be treated as brothels and banditti by all who would exculpate themselves from the guilt of slaveholding’—‘ That any man who goes to the polls, and votes for a slave owner, or any other than an outspoken abolitionist, acts on the same principle with the Algerine bucanier, and ought not to be recognized as an abolitionist’—manifests a spirit, which, if at all consistent with the gospel, is not likely to gain friends to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, but bring upon it needless odium.

The third party resolution was taken up. It was opposed by Messrs.

Jinnings of Boston, and Miller, of Vermont; and sustained by Messrs. Lunt, of Somersworth, N. H., Frederick Douglas, Wendell Phillips, Geo. Bradburn and Ellis Gray Loring.

N. P. Rogers moved the following amendment:

To strike out all after the word Resolved, and insert,

‘That political Anti-Slavery action, in the opinion of this Society, is a departure from the genius and spirit of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.’

The amendment was rejected.

The original Resolution was adopted.

On motion of Edmund Quiney, the Society adjourned to to-morrow at 9, A. M.

THURSDAY MORNING.

The Society met at the Melodeon, according to adjournment:

The President in the chair.

Prayer was offered by J. T. Everett, of Princeton.

The following resolution, reported by the Business Committee, after remarks by Wendell Phillips, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society offers its thanks to those who contributed their time and attention in making the necessary arrangements for the late Anti-Slavery Fair, and to the friends both in this country and in England, Scotland, and Ireland, who contributed the results of their taste and industry to give it attraction and utility—and adds its congratulations to all the friends of the cause, that these combined efforts have proved highly satisfactory in their pecuniary results, and in the important aid thereby afforded to the future operations of the Society.

Hon. Seth Sprague, chairman of the committee on nominations, made a report, which, on motion, was unanimously adopted, and the persons therein named were unanimously elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year. The resolutions with regard to Agents were taken up and, after remarks by Messrs. Morton, Thompson, Phillips, Spear, Parkman, Davenport, J. N. Buffum, Sprague, Morse, Miller, Miss Kelley, Whitney, Thompson, Boyce, and others, were adopted, with the exception of the last, and pledges and subscriptions, to the amount of nearly \$900, were taken up. While the pledges were being taken, remarks were made by Messrs. Collins, Phillips, Belcher, Allen and others.

Voted, That the Society hold its sessions in this place to-morrow.

Adjourned to half past 2, P. M.

AFTERNOON

Met according to adjournment.

Voted, That Wm. Bassett, of Lynn, be appointed a Vice President of this Society, in addition to those before chosen.

The last resolution, reported by the committee appointed to suggest a course of action for the Society, recommending the discontinuing of the quarterly meetings of the County Societies, was then taken up.

J. T. Everett moved that it be stricken out. Discussed by J. T. Everett, J. N. Buffum, Dr. Brown, J. C. Fuller, J. A. Collins, Mr. Jewett, Cyrus M. Burleigh, and J. Lincoln.

J. P. Boyce moved the previous question, which was carried.

The vote was then taken on the motion to strike out the resolution under discussion, which was carried, and the resolution was accordingly stricken out.

The meeting being informed that Lunsford Lane, (an emancipated slave) was present, it was voted that he be invited to relate his history, with which he complied.

Voted, That when this meeting adjourn, it be to meet at 6 1-2 o'clock this evening, at the Hall of the House of Representatives in the State House.

The following resolution from the Business Committee was then taken up, and, after remarks by G. W. F. Mellen, Col. Miller, John Levy, Edmund Quincy, and S. Brown, was adopted:

Resolved, That the position assumed by Andrew Stevenson, the late minister from the Government of the United States to the Court of St. James, in his correspondence with the British Government on the subject of 'the right of search,' so called, namely, that officers of Her Majesty's vessels, employed in suppressing the foreign slave trade, which our laws denounce as piracy, and its votaries as punishable with death like other pirates, cannot be allowed to examine the papers, in order to determine the nationality of every vessel sailing under the United States flag, and suspected of being a slaver, but shall presume such vessel to be an American, from the mere presence of that flag, which buccaneers may hoist at their pleasure, and which is found more frequently perhaps than any other floating at the mast-head of the slave ship, is worthy only of a slaveholder; and that, if sustained by the United States Government, it will involve this nation in the disgrace and the sin of directly sanctioning that infernal traffic, and demonstrate to the world, that by our own laws, we are a nation of pirates; and that the functionaries of the British Government, in maintaining an opposite principle, carry with them the deep convictions and cordial sympathy of the genuine republicans of these United States, and entitle themselves to the gratitude and support of the civilized world. Voted to adjourn.

THURSDAY EVENING.

Society met according to adjournment, at the Representatives' Hall in the State House.

The resolution on the *Creole* affair was taken up, on motion of Col. Miller, of Vermont, who addressed the meeting in its favor.

Resolved, That by all the principles on which we eulogize George Washington and his brave compeers, who delivered their countrymen from the chains of British oppression, we are bound to laud the courage and heroism of the Americans on board the *Creole*, who, rising on their op-

pressors, secured to them, by their own strong arm, the inalienable right of liberty, of which American citizens had most basely robbed them.

Sundry resolutions from the Business Committee were read by the President. (Among these were the resolutions relating to Andrew Stevenson, Gov. Seward, and the Marriage Law—and also the following:—)

Resolved, That, since the Constitution of this Commonwealth recognizes no distinction among its citizens on account of color, those rail-road Corporations within its limits, which exclude from their cars a portion of our citizens because of their complexion, are obviously guilty of a violation of that noble instrument; and that, since those rail-roads were constructed in part by the credit of the State, which is the joint creation of its colored and uncolored inhabitants, the baseness of such corporations, in thus trampling on the rights of our people, is equalled only by their unmitigated meanness.

Resolved, That Massachusetts is dishonored and degraded by her connexion with Southern slavery, and her truckling subserviency to southern slaveholders; that this connection is not only dishonorable, but in the highest degree criminal; and that it must and shall be broken up, at whatever sacrifice or hazard.

The meeting was then addressed by Geo. Bradburn, of Nantucket; Charles L. Remond, of Salem; James Cannings Fuller, of New-York; Nathaniel P. Rogers, of New Hampshire; Wendell Phillips, of Boston; W. L. Garrison, of Boston; Frederick Douglass, a fugitive from slavery; Abbey Kelley, of Milbury; and the resolutions were adopted.

The following resolution, offered by Geo. Bradburn, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are due to the one hundred and ninety-five members of the House of Representatives, who granted it the use of their Hall on the present occasion.

Adjourned to Friday, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

FRIDAY MORNING.

The Society met at the Melodeon, according to adjournment. The President in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Mr. Reynolds, of Providence.

The President stated to the meeting, that letters had been received from several individuals; whereupon it was

Voted, That they be referred to the Business Committee, to be printed under their direction.

The following resolution was offered by the Business Committee:

Resolved, That as the conduct of the American church and clergy affords all possible evidence that they constitute the main strength of slavery in our land, we hereby withdraw from them both our moral countenance and pecuniary support; as we have long since been compelled to do our spiritual communion.

J. P. Bishop moved that the resolution be laid on the table, for the purpose of considering a protest made by him at a quarterly meeting of the Society, which motion was lost.

N. P. Rogers, of New-Hampshire, presented the following resolution, and moved that it be considered in connection with the resolution reported by the Business Committee, which motion was adopted:

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery enterprise is strictly a moral enterprise, and not one of physical violence; that the revolution it seeks to accomplish is moral and peaceful, and not a revolution of force and arms; that, therefore all its measures and instrumentalities are spiritual, appealing to the conscience and heart of an inhuman, slaveholding people.

Resolved, That though political action is commonly regarded as peaceful, and favoring rather of moral than of physical force, yet, as regards the abolition of slavery, it is essentially military and compulsory, and therefore abolitionists cannot legitimately employ its agency in the prosecution of their enterprise.

The two resolutions were commented upon by Jas. C. Fuller, N. P. Rogers, Abel Tanner, of R. I., Frederick Douglass, and Seth Sprague; after which, the Society adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON.

The Society met, pursuant to adjournment. The resolutions of the morning were further discussed by Messrs. Reynolds and Abel Tanner, of Providence, after which, Miss Abby Kelley presented the following resolution, and moved that it be considered in connection with those already before the Society, which was agreed to:

Resolved, That the sectarian organizations, called churches, are combinations of thieves, robbers, adulterers, pirates and murderers, and, as such, form the bulwark of American slavery.

(This resolution was subsequently laid on the table.)

The discussion was continued by Messrs. Jewett, of Providence, Enoch Mack, of Dover, N. H. J. P. Bishop, and Edmund Quincy, of Dedham.

Seth Sprague moved to lay the resolution of the Business Committee on the table, which motion was lost, and remarks were continued by Parker Pillsbury, of New-Hampshire.

The previous question, on motion of Edmund Quincy, was ordered, and the resolution was adopted.

On motion, the second resolution was taken up, and, after remarks from Abby Kelley, Seth Sprague, N. P. Rogers, P. Pillsbury, and Warren Allen of Walpole, was also adopted.

The third resolution was taken up, and, on motion, was laid on the table.

On motion of N. P. Rogers, the following resolution was taken up, and adopted:

Resolved, That Slavery has its fountain and main support in the religion of the country, which is *reputed to be the Christian religion*, and had in reverence, as such, among the people; and that it is the *paramount*

business and duty of abolitionists to strip that religion, and its pro-slavery professors and priesthood, *of the mask of Christianity*.

The following resolution, presented by the Business Committee, was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the right of petition is a constitutional right of the people of the United States; that the refusal of the Houses of Congress to accept the petitions of the people on the subject of slavery is subversive of the political rights of the free people of these United States, and insulting to those from whom the recusant members of Congress derive all their power and authority; that the Hon. John Quincy Adams, in contending for this right on the floor of Congress, has earned for himself the respect, the gratitude, and the support of the friends of constitutional liberty, for his indomitable perseverance and unflinching reproofs addressed to the republican slaveholders of Congress and of the country.

The following resolution was likewise presented by the Business Committee, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Society recognizes it as a solemn duty, to sustain by its declared approbation, every man whose eminent fidelity to the cause of human freedom shall expose him to peculiar persecution and reproach; we do therefore express our sincere conviction of the personal worth and anti-slavery fidelity of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, believing that now, at the expiration of ten years from the formation of this Society, he has fully redeemed the pledges which his career gave at its commencement.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

GREAT MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL,

FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

A large and overwhelming meeting of the citizens of Boston and vicinity was held in the Old Cradle of Liberty, on Friday evening, Jan. 28, 1842, favorable to the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The meeting was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, and on motion of Edmund Quincy, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON was unanimously called to the Chair.

On motion, *Voted*, That there be six Vice Presidents, to be nominated by the Chair. The following persons were then chosen, viz:

FRANCIS JACKSON,	} of Massachusetts.
JOSEPH SOUTHWICK,	
GEORGE BRADBURN,	
COL. J. P. MILLER,	of Vermont.
NATHANIEL P. ROGERS, of New-Hampshire.	
JAMES CANNINGS FULLER, of New-York.	

The following persons were then appointed Secretaries, viz:—

WILLIAM BASSETT, of Lynn.
CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem.
HENRY W. WILLIAMS, of Boston.

The Chairman said he would beg leave to present to the meeting, for their consideration, the following Resolutions, which expressed the feelings of his own bosom, and the spirit of which, he thought, should animate the bosom of every friend of Liberty:

1. *Resolved*, That inasmuch as the District of Columbia is neither a part nor under the control of any one State, but belongs to the people of the United States, and is under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress in all cases whatsoever, it follows that, for the existence of Slavery in that District, Congress and the people of the United States are directly responsible; and at any moment they can constitutionally abolish it.

2. *Resolved*, That, in the awful name of the God of nations, and by every consideration of justice, humanity and religion, we call upon Congress immediately to break the fetters and to undo the heavy burdens which that body has made, and to let the oppressed go free, in the aforesaid District: and to give no countenance or protection to slavery in any part of the republic.

3. *Resolved*, That the refusal of Congress to receive the petitions of the people, in relation to this great national iniquity and curse, is an act of high-handed usurpation, flagrantly unconstitutional, and not to be endured by a free people; and, if persisted in much longer, must necessarily lead to the most deplorable consequences.

4. *Resolved*, That the insolent rejection, by Congress, of the resolutions of the Legislatures of Vermont and Massachusetts, in relation to slavery in the District of Columbia, is a bold denial of the sovereignty of those States, a most alarming precedent in the legislation of the country, and a plain demonstration of the fact, that northern liberty is but the football of the slaveholding power.

5. *Resolved*, That the Legislatures of Vermont and Massachusetts cannot tamely submit to such indignities without great criminality, and the exhibition of a cowardly and truckling spirit; and that, by their allegiance to the principles of the Constitution, by a due regard to their own character, and by the respect which they entertain for their own constituents, they are bound to enter a solemn protest against this despotic procedure and to warn Congress to pause before again perpetrating it in the manner aforesaid.

6. *Resolved*, That the thanks of the friends of liberty, universally, and especially in Massachusetts, are due to JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, for his bold, faithful and indefatigable advocacy of the right of petition under circumstances of great difficulty and peril; and that the Secretaries of this meeting be requested to forward a copy of this resolution to MR. ADAMS, in the name of this meeting, as a slight token of its high appreciation of his conduct in such an emergency, and of its determination to sustain him in every constitutional effort that he may make in favor of the rights of man, irrespective of complexional differences. (Immense applause.)

7. *Resolved*, That when the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth, in Congress, find themselves deprived of the liberty of speech on its floor, and prohibited from defending the right of their constituents to petition that body in a constitutional manner, they ought at once to withdraw, and return to their several homes, leaving the people of Massachusetts to devise such ways and means for a redress of their grievances as they shall deem necessary. (Applause.)

8. *Resolved*, That the union of Liberty and Slavery, in one just and equal compact, is that which it is not in the power of God or men to achieve, because it is a moral impossibility, as much as the peaceful amalgamation of fire and gunpowder; and, therefore, the American Union is such only in form, but not in substance—a hollow mockery instead of a glorious reality. (Applause.)

9. *Resolved*, That if the South be madly bent upon perpetuating her atrocious slave system, and thereby destroying the liberty of speech and of the press, and striking down the rights of northern citizens, the time is rapidly approaching when the American Union will be dissolved in form as it is now in fact.

10. *Resolved*, That until Massachusetts cease to give her countenance and support to the southern slave system, by allowing the slave hunter to seize his prey on her soil, and by conceding that a man may be a thing, an article of merchandise, she is to be regarded as recreant to the cause of freedom and humanity, and her people as an organized body of conspirators against the rights of man.

11. *Resolved*, That Massachusetts must wash her hands of all participation in the enslavement of any portion of the human race, in this or any other country.

12. *Resolved*, That the people of this Commonwealth should flood both houses of the State Legislature at its next session, with petitions, calling on them to pass a declaratory law, that no slave can breathe on the soil of Massachusetts, and that every bondman shall become free on arriving within her jurisdiction. (Immense applause.)

The adoption of the above resolutions was moved and advocated by EDMUND QUINCY, who was followed by Col. J. P. MILLER, of Vermont,—GEO. BRADBURN, of Nantucket—FREDERICK DOUGLAS, a fugitive slave—JAMES CANNINGS FULLER, of western New-York—MR. EMMONS—WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston—and CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem—whose eloquent and thrilling speeches were constantly interrupted by loud and enthusiastic bursts of applause.

The resolutions were adopted by an almost unanimous vote, and in the most impressive manner.

The Irish Address, signed by DANIEL O'CONNELL, Father MATHEW, and sixty thousand other Irishmen, to the Irish residents in the United States, calling upon them unitedly to espouse the Anti-Slavery cause, and to identify themselves with the American abolitionists, was then read by the Chairman, and was received by the immense assemblage with cheers and loud acclamations of applause. A large number of the Irish inhabitants of Boston and vicinity were present, who responded to the sentiments of the address, and to those which were uttered by the various speakers, in the most enthusiastic manner.

WENDELL PHILLIPS offered the following resolutions, which he very eloquently advocated, and which were adopted by acclamation :

Resolved, That the voice of O'CONNELL, which now shakes the three kingdoms, has poured across the waters a thunder-peat for the cause of Liberty in our own land; and that Father Mathew, having lifted, with one hand, five millions of his own countrymen into moral life, has stretched forth the other—which may Heaven make equally potent—to smite off the fetters of the American slave.

Resolved, That we receive, with the deepest gratitude, the names of the sixty thousand Irishmen, who, in the trial hour of their own struggle for liberty, have not forgotten the slave on this side of the water; that we accept with triumphant exultation, the Address they have forwarded to us, and pledge ourselves to circulate it through the length and breadth of our land, till the pulse of every man, and especially every man who claims Irish parentage, beats true to the claims of patriotism and humanity.

The following resolution was offered by GEORGE BRADBURN, and adopted with great enthusiasm:

Resolved, That this meeting most cordially wishes Old Ireland success, in all her righteous efforts to redeem the Emerald Isle from every species of British oppression, and especially in the grand movement of DANIEL O'CONNELL, for the repeal of the fraudulent act of Union between his country and England.

On motion of EDMUND QUINCY,

Voted, That the proceedings of this meeting be printed, and signed by the officers of this meeting, and copies transmitted to Daniel O'Connell and Theobald Mathew, and to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, with a request that they be laid before that body—also, that they be published in the papers of this city.

Charles Lenox Remond moved that the thanks of the assembly be presented to the Mayor and Aldermen, for the use of the Hall on this occasion. The motion was adopted, and the meeting was then dissolved—after which, nine cheers were given for the cause of liberty and emancipation.

It is estimated that not less than FOUR THOUSAND persons were present on the occasion.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *Chairman*.

WM. BASSETT,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
C. L. REMOND,	
H. W. WILLIAMS,	

SKETCH OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON having been elected to preside, by a unanimous vote, took his seat, amid the strongest demonstrations of satisfaction and applause from the meeting. Mr. Garrison then addressed the immense assemblage as follows:

Fellow-Citizens—Gentlemen and Ladies: It is most unexpectedly to myself, that I am called upon to preside at your meeting to-night. I do not feel competent fitly to discharge the honorable duty; but if any man has a right to appear before you, on this platform, in testimony to his devotedness to the cause of liberty, I claim to be that man. (Applause.) The best evidence of it is given by the foes of Liberty: Five thousand dollars are offered for my head, by the sovereign State of Georgia. (Cheers.) The occasion which brings us together is one of great importance and solemnity. We are here as the friends of human rights, to bear a public

testimony against American slavery, and to redeem from its polluting touch the District of Columbia, the Seat of our National Government. (Cheers.)

After the appointment of several Vice Presidents and Secretaries, the Chairman submitted to the meeting a series of resolutions, which, he said, expressed his own feelings, and, he trusted, those also of every lover of freedom then present. They were received with great applause. (See the official proceedings.)

EDMUND QUINCY then addressed the meeting as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Citizens—I rise to move the acceptance of these resolutions. And I rejoice, in doing so, to have the opportunity to welcome LIBERTY back to her cradle, from whence she was compelled to depart by the genius of Slavery. We are here, to-night, to perform a solemn lustration of this her birth-place! May it henceforth be her home forever!—(Applause.) What we do to-night shall free its walls from every stain—its name from every reproach. But, delightful as is this spectacle of the sons of our city and Commonwealth thus standing shoulder to shoulder for Liberty, how are we compelled to blush for the occasion that calls us hither! Descendants of those men who once made this hall ring with a voice that shook the nations—children of those who, after years of toil and difficulty, won freedom and the rights of man, as they fondly fancied, for their remotest posterity—already are we obliged to be here to exclaim against an institution which is arrayed against our freedom and our rights in that ten miles square, which is, constitutionally, as much under our control, as our own capital of Boston. Well may we exclaim against the invasions and outrages it makes. Graven as they are on our souls, we blush to name them. Sir, if the sainted men, whose portraits adorn these walls, were permitted to look back to earth, what a spectacle would they behold! Would they not think that they had lived and died in vain? Would not Warren now grudge the blood he then poured out so freely—now that our rights are cloven down by the very men who were appointed for their protection, and we are denied the poor privilege of prayer, that they may be restored! Oh, there *was* a time when every heart in our land beat high for liberty—when the indignant remonstrance of the land rose instantly against every signal of oppression that came booming across the Atlantic. Those were the days when men's swords leaped from their sheaths at the thought of bondage.

I myself remember that later day, when men's hearts swelled high within them at the story of others' wrongs, and when a gallant friend now present, whom you will shortly hear from, drew his sword in the cause of Greece. I remember when the tide of public sympathy rose high for the Poles against the Czar, and how, in this very hall, amid the stirring tones of martial music, and all the pomp and circumstance of mimic war, and with prayers to Almighty God, we reared and blessed the banners that we sent them in token of that sympathy; and yet, sir, that assembly was not followed by another, composed of wily statesman, and cautious trafficker, and reverend theologian, and crafty lawyer, called to cast contempt upon the deed, and to assure them that it was merely a few individuals and fan-

atics, whose hearts were with them. Oh, no! *the Czar's* victims were blessed with a white skin, and their tyrant masters had no sugar, cotton and tobacco to bribe New-England with.

As a nation, we have made a great display of our hatred to the foreign slave trade. *That* the South can brand as piracy. Yet, sir, with the greatest complacency in the world are jails erected in the capital of the nation, while over them floats our national banner, from which thousands and thousands are sent coast-wise to the far south! and this is honorable traffic, which on another coast is piracy! Be it what it may, have we nothing to do with it, licensed as it is by our general government? Have we nothing to do with a system which seizes upon our citizens, wealthy and worthy though they may be, and eligible to the highest offices in our State, and immures them in jails built with our money, insulting them because they have a dark complexion, with a demand for proof of their humanity?

This is an endless theme. Full as my soul is, I am unwilling to pursue it farther at this time, for I see present to night those who are strangers, not indeed by name or fact, but who have come from a distance to be present with us on this occasion. I welcome them in your name to this seat of our civic hospitalities. (Great cheering.)

MR. GARRISON. I hope the meeting will from time to time, as the various speakers proceed, direct its attention to the roll which lies before me. It is the address of 60,000 Irishmen to their countrymen and countrywomen in the United States, (Cheers,) among whom are Daniel O'Connell and Father Mathew. (Cheers.) It is the gift of glorious old Ireland to America. (Tremendous cheering.) Ireland—

“First flower of the earth, first gem of the sea!”

(Renewed cheering.) It is an incendiary document, (laughter,) but it will burn up nothing but slavery. (Cheers.) It may be called foreign interference, but it is an interference which God approves, and which humanity will bless. We have the moral right to interfere wherever humanity is outraged and oppressed. (Cheers.) It is a duty as well as a right, binding on every man that breathes, to succor and help and comfort, ay, and *deliver* the suffering and enslaved, of whatever color or clime.

“Then let us pray, that come it may,
As come it will, for all that,
When sense and worth, o'er all the earth,
Shall bear the palm, for all that;
For all that, and all that,
It's coming yet, for all that,
When man to man, the world all o'er,
Shall brothers be, for all that.”

(Tremendous applause.)

The Chairman then introduced to the meeting, Col. J. P. Miller, of Vermont, who went out to give succor to Greece in her struggle against Turkish despotism. (Cheers.)

COL. MILLER:

Mr. President—Gentlemen and Ladies:—It is with no ordinary emotions that I profit by it. We have here a memorial from Ireland. Oh, well I remember all that I have felt for liberty, in connection with Ireland. She lies near the heart of all who love liberty, for she is oppressed. (Cheers.) Nearer still must she be to our hearts, when we see her amid all her own toils and sufferings for relief, raising a voice of cheer and sympathy for those who groan beneath a still deadlier despotism. (Cheers.) I must confess that recent events occasioned despondency in my heart. When a voice once went forth from this hall, declaring that Slavery should be exalted and Liberty depressed, the sound reached our Green Mountains, stunning us like a thunderbolt. But Liberty is again exalted this night, (Cheers,) and a voice goes forth, to which the heart of every Vermonter will reply (Cheers,)—for slavery never sullied the banner of my native State. (Cheers.) I cannot let this moment pass, without congratulating my noble compeers who struck with me for Greece, that our toils were crowned with success—that Greece now enjoys at least a portion of those rights we strove for with the Ottoman. But it is a sterner struggle, a weightier enterprise, that now calls us. It is a struggle of principle, and we are here to pledge ourselves never to abandon it. We will struggle for, and we will obtain for our colored fellow-citizens, all their rights, privileges and immunities. Is it said that slavery is guaranteed in the Constitution?—that we are bound to permit it by a compact? I deny that we ever entered into any such compact. What says the Constitution? “We, the people of the United States—(and that does not mean a few, Mr. President,) we, the *people*, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of *liberty* to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

Is there any thing there that guarantees to one part of the people the ownership of another part? (Col. Miller briefly examined the Constitution on this point, and went on)—I said, Ireland was oppressed:—I care not who turn their faces from me at the announcement—I AM A RE-PEALER! (Strong applause.) I have Irish blood in my veins, (turning to that part of the hall whence the applause came,) and I know the condition of your oppressed land, and I trust the day of her redemption draws night. I know your Daniel O’Connell. In all the earth, there is not a greater man than he. (Long continued applause.) He speaks to you tonight, (pointing to the address,) and with his voice have sixty thousand Irishmen united theirs, adjuring you to act with the American abolitionists, and liberate the American slave. (We will! we will!) I will say no more. (Continuous cheering.)

GEORGE BRADBURN, Esq., of Nantucket, being loudly called for, next rose, and was warmly greeted.

MR. GARRISON. I perceive I need not introduce this friend to you: you know him already. (cheers.)

MR. BRADBURN. I come before you not so much because I am called, as because I cannot keep silence when Daniel O'Connell's name is mentioned on such an occasion as this. Would that I had his mighty voice to present to you this question. Not only has he given this address his signature, but you will here see that of Father Mathew, the moral regenerator of Ireland, of whom it may be said that "he exhausts the soil of life in supplying the lamp of charity." (Applause.) I have some claim to a hearing from you. I am the son of an Irishman, and I glory in my parentage. (Strong applause from the centre of the hall.) When I was last year in Great Britain, I made a sort of pilgrimage to see those two great men. I rode twenty miles from Dublin to see Father Mathew administer the pledge to 20,000 Irishmen, and I saw how truly they wished for the deliverance of the American slave. They wish you to join the abolitionists of this nation to effect it. What is this slavery, from which their souls recoil? You know that it dares to take human beings, and deny them the means of christian salvation, while it justifies itself for the deed by placing them upon a level with the brutes. Husband and wife are torn asunder; parents and children are separated; wholesale licentiousness is encouraged; stripes are inflicted to compel unceasing, uncompensated toil. I know that, to my Irish friends, labor is familiar and delightful too, as the means of obtaining comfort and independence. But those slaves are robbed of the fruits of their labor, can hold no property legally, and are themselves considered as mere property, goods and chattels, to all constructions, intents and purposes whatsoever. They are subjected to the loss of life for some seventy or eighty crimes, while the white man is capitally punished for two or three only. But the evils of slavery are not confined to the southern section of our country. They reach the business and bosoms of men here in Boston. Citizens of Boston are liable to be seized at any moment at the South, and thrust into prison. Slaveholders dare not thus treat the subjects of Great Britain, of whatever color. If they did, they would soon receive a sample of Queen Victoria's powder and ball. Let me state a fact which transpired in the harbor of Charleston. The captain of an American vessel had a steward on board, who was much beloved by him. He wished to spare him the customary imprisonment, and to save him from the clutches of the city officers who came to take him. what did he do? He sent him on board the British ship. (Applause.) It is a fact honorable to England, and disgraceful to this country. Slavery not only perils the liberty and safety of free men, in this way, but she enacts kidnapping laws at the South. Our citizens may be imprisoned there, and called upon to prove that they are free. Well, a colored skin is thought proof enough that they are not free; and, after an imprisonment, they are sold to pay their jail fees.

Slavery stretches its long arms here, and snatches victims from our very hearths. I know it. I have myself been the means of rescuing several children who have thus been kidnapped for slaves.

Slavery strikes at the interest of every laboring man. I want the Irishmen to know this. I wish Father Mathew or Daniel O'Connell were

here to give this fact fit utterance. It is undeniable. Southern men affirm it. One of them, McDuffie, once Governor of South Carolina, says, "Domestic slavery is the corner stone of our republican edifice." Do you believe that, Irishmen? (Laughter.) Listen to Mr. Pickens. He says *the laboring people must be owned* by their employers, and that to that it will come at the North. Not only politicians, but grave Doctors of Divinity, assert this. Professor Dew implies the same thing. Slaveholders may assert it: but they are infamous liars, if they say a true man can be found who believes it. (Tremendous applause.) Let me tell you, Daniel O'Connell said in a speech I heard him make last year—one of the most noble-hearted of men that God ever created, for *he* makes moral conduct, and not color, the test among men—"He had long desired to visit America, but he never would do so as long as its soil was polluted by the foot-prints of a single slave. The American republicans he regarded as the vilest of hypocrites and the greatest of liars."

Such is his abhorrence of slavery, that he will not shake hands with American *slaveholders*. With what scornful intonation does he pronounce the very word! He considers them, as they are, the basest among the base. Again does he send his voice "thundering against the westerly breeze," (pointing to the address,) and it rings through our meeting to-night. (Continued cheering.) He asks you to join the abolitionists, to destroy this accursed system. How are you to act? There are seven thousand slaves in the District of Columbia, under the power of Congress. I urge it upon every Irishman never to give his vote for a man who sustains slavery. Let him, when he goes to the polls, inquire, who is the outspoken friend of liberty, and vote only for such. (Cheers, and a shout, "we will.") I know you will. You will sweep away this disgrace from the capital of your adopted land.

One of the most brilliant poets of the age, and he was an Irishman. Tom Moore, said when he saw its horrible inconsistencies—

"Who can, with patience, for a moment see
The medley mass of pride and misery,
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
Of slaving blacks and democratic whites,
And all the piebald *policy* that reigns
In free confusion o'er Columbia's plains?
To think that man,—thou just and gentle God,
Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod,
O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,
Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty!!"

The papers bring us to-day the accounts of the atrocious outrages committed against our rights in Congress. John Quincy Adams offered to prove that there was a deliberate intent on the part of the South to destroy the liberties of the North. One Wise, [the fellow were better named Folly, (laughter,) but names are not always characteristic,] had the baseness and wickedness to taunt the patriot who stands planted there for the most sacred rights of human beings which this miscreant denies. (Shame.) Why, what an upstart is that Wise! If you were to attempt

to define his position there, you could no more do it, as one of them said, than you could define the position of a kink in a cat's tail! (Cheers and laughter.) And those fellows are prating about liberty! In God's name, spurn them from you. (Ay! ay!) When you came here, you had some fixed ideas of what was democracy, but the conduct of such fellows, and their baser supporters and apologists in Boston here, is enough to unsettle every republican idea in your minds, and disgust you with the very name, by their dastardly hypocrisy. (Continued cheers.)

An Irishman, who did not possess his nation's characteristic frankness, however gifted with its wit, was once asked what his occupation was. "Drawing," he replied. "Let us see some of your landscapes, then," said the questioner. "Oh," said he, "but it's not pictures that I draw." "No! what is it then?" "Please your honor, it's *beer*." Thus it is with these apologists and sustainers of slavery. There is no more resemblance between their principles and their practice, than there is between linear drawing and beer drawing. (Great applause.)

Mr. DOUGLAS, a man of color, here came forward.

Mr. GARRISON. It is recorded in holy writ, that a beast once spoke. A greater miracle is here to night. A chattel becomes a man. (Applause.)

Mr. DOUGLAS. I rejoice to be permitted, as well as to be able to speak upon this subject in Faneuil Hall. I will not detain you long, for I stand here a slave. (No! no! from the meeting.) A slave at least in the eye of the Constitution. (No! no! *with emphasis from the meeting*.) It is a slave by the laws of the South, who now addresses you. (That's it! *from the meeting*.) My back is scarred by the lash—that I could show you. I would I could make visible the wounds of this system upon my soul. I merely rose to return you thanks for this cheering sight, representing as I do, the two and a half millions remaining in that bondage from which I have escaped. I thank God that I have the opportunity to do it. Those bondmen, whose cause you are called to espouse, are entirely deprived of the privilege of speaking for themselves. They are goods and chattels, not men. They are denied the privileges of the Christian—they are denied the rights of citizens. They are refused the claims of the man. They are not allowed the rights of the husband and the father. They may not name the name of Liberty. It is to save them from all this, that you are called. Do it!—and they who are ready to perish shall bless you! Do it! and all good men will cheer you onward! Do it! and God will reward you for the deed; and your own consciences will testify that you have been true to the demands of the religion of Christ. (Applause.)

But what a mockery of his religion is preached at the South! I have been called upon to describe the style in which it is set forth. And I find our ministers there learn to do it at the northern colleges. I used to know they went away somewhere I did not know where, and came back ministers; and this is the way they would preach. They would take a text—say this:—"Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." And this is the way they would apply it. They would explain

it to mean, "slaveholders, do unto *slaveholders* what you would have them do unto you:"—and then looking impudently up to the slaves' gallery, (for they have a place set apart for us, though it is said they have no prejudice, just as is done here in the northern churches;) looking high up to the poor colored drivers and the rest, and spreading his hands gracefully abroad, he says, (mimicking,) "And you too, my friends, have souls of infinite value—souls that will live through endless happiness or misery in eternity. Oh, *labor diligently* to make your calling and election sure. Oh, receive into your souls these words of the holy apostle—"Servants, be obedient unto your masters." (Shouts of laughter and applause.) Oh, consider the wonderful goodness of God! Look at your hard, horny hands, your strong muscular frames, and see how mercifully he has adapted you to the duties you are to fulfil! (continued laughter and applause) while to your masters, who have slender frames and long delicate fingers, he has given brilliant intellects, that they may do the *thinking*, while you do the *working*." (Shouts of applause.) It has been said here at the North, that the slaves have the gospel preached to them. But you will see what sort of a gospel it is:—a gospel which, more than chains, or whips, or thumb-screws, gives perpetuity to this horrible system.

JAMES CANNINGS FULLER, of New York, was next introduced to the meeting by Mr. Garrison, who, in doing it, said—"We are engaged in a war—a war against slavery—a war for the liberties of our countrymen; but the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, and therefore even a Quaker can join us in it." (Applause.)

MR. FULLER: My heart is too full of emotion to permit me to speak, when I look at the centre of this Hall. I am an old countryman myself, and the hope of meeting you here to-night has brought me several hundred miles. (Cheers.) My brother Garrison has the first right to stand before you to-night, but I will give place to no man after him. Thirty-five years have I been an abolitionist, at home and abroad, (and throwing off his coat, amid rapturous cheers,) I mean to stand up for the cause to the last. Irishmen! I stood in our Irish house of Peers, when Castlereagh took the bribe for the betrayal of Ireland (groans and cries "yes, and went home and cut his throat!") and I know what feelings and sufferings bring an Irishman to America. What did you come from the other side for? OPPRESSION drove you here, and you came for universal liberty! (Tremendous cheering.) I must be a radical reformer here, as I was in the old country. My Irish friends know what that means. (Shouts and cheers, and cries, "yes! yes!") Hard-handed laborers! see to it that not one of you bows down to this deadly influence of slavery. I speak as one of yourselves. When I was a boy, my indentures were given up to me on account of these principles, and so I consider myself as a journeyman yet. (Great cheering.) Let me tell you, my friends, that more responsibility in this matter rests with us than there does with the natives of this country; for we are republicans by choice, while they are so by birth-right, education, and accident. (Applause.) You will labor for the anti-slavery cause! (An Irish hand was stretched up to his from the dense

crowd. Shaking it warmly amid deafening cheers, Mr. Fuller went on)—I knew you would! (Great cheering.) Let not the influence of this meeting pass away! In the name of God, obey his commands, as set forth in the gospel of Christ, who came to earth to proclaim liberty!—in the beloved names of the country of your birth, and the country of your adoption, go on, till you have driven the curse of slavery from the American soil. (Cheers.)

MR. GARRISON. It has been said by the South, that the slaves cannot take care of themselves, and so they disinterestedly volunteer to take care of them; and the way they do it is a caution. You have listened to one of their victims to night. Is it your opinion that he can take care of himself? [United cry of *yes!* from the meeting.] Then he does not need their whips, and chains, and branding irons, and slave laws to help him. [Cheers.] They took care of him by robbing him of his inalienable rights, lacerating his body, and debasing his mind! But he resolved that he would not any longer submit to such treatment—and who will blame for that? [Cheers.] Well, England, in true slaveholding style, says that Ireland cannot take care of herself, [laughter,] and therefore *she* will look after the interests of the Emerald Isle—and the way she does it is also a caution. [Cheers.] But Ireland has about made up her mind, that she will no longer be the vassal of England, to be subjected to famine, oppression and misrule. Success to her in every righteous effort to secure her emancipation! [Great cheering.] Shall I read the Address of sixty thousand Irishmen to their friends in the United States? [Yes! yes!] It is short, because they rightly deemed that not much need be said from Irishmen to Irishmen on such a subject as this. (Cheers.) It is addressed to their countrymen and countrywomen, [the women forever!] [Cheers.]

ADDRESS FROM THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN AND COUNTRYWOMEN IN AMERICA!

DEAR FRIENDS:—You are at a great distance from your native land! A wide expanse of water separates you from the beloved country of your birth—from us and from the kindred whom you love, and who love you, and pray for your happiness and prosperity in the land of your adoption.

We regard America with feelings of admiration; we do not look upon her as a strange land, nor upon her people as aliens from our affections. The power of steam has brought us nearer together; it will increase the intercourse between us, so that the character of the Irish people and of the American people must in future be acted upon by the feelings and disposition of each.

The object of this address is to call your attention to the subject of **SLAVERY IN AMERICA**—that foul blot upon the noble institution, and the fair fame of your adopted country. But for this one stain, America.

would indeed be a land worthy your adoption ; but she will never be the glorious country that her free constitution designed her to be, so long as her soil is polluted by the footprint of a single slave.

Slavery is the most tremendous invasion of the natural, inalienable rights of man, and of some of the noblest gifts of God, “ life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” What a spectacle does America present to the people of the earth ! A land of professing Christian republicans, uniting their energies for the oppression and degradation of three millions of innocent human beings, the children of one common Father, who suffer the most grievous wrongs and the utmost degradation for no crime of their ancestors or their own ! Slavery is a sin against God and man. *All who are not for it must be against it.* NONE CAN BE NEUTRAL. *We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion, and liberty.*

It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country’s degradation under this withering curse. America is cursed by slavery ! We CALL UPON YOU TO UNITE WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS, and never to cease your efforts, until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. We are all children of the same gracious God ; all equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We are told that you possess great power, both moral and political, in America. We entreat you to exercise that power and that influence for the sake of humanity.



You will not witness the horrors of slavery in all the States of America. Thirteen of them are *free*, and thirteen are *slave States*. But in all, the pro-slavery feeling, though rapidly decreasing, is still strong. *Do not unite with it :* on the contrary, OPPOSE IT BY ALL THE PEACEFUL MEANS IN YOUR POWER. JOIN WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS EVERY WHERE. *They are the only consistent advocates of liberty.* Tell every man, that you do not understand liberty for the white man, and slavery for the black man : that you are for LIBERTY FOR ALL, of every color, creed, and country.

The American citizen proudly points to the National Declaration of Independence, which declares that “ All mankind are born free and equal, and are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Aid him to carry out this noble declaration, by obtaining freedom for the slave.

Irishmen and Irishwomen ! *treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren.* By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty—hate slavery—CLING BY THE ABOLITIONISTS—and in America, *you will do honor to the name of Ireland.*

[Signed by]

DANIEL O’CONNELL,
THEOBALD MATHEW,

And  SIXTY THOUSAND  other Inhabitants of Ireland.

(The reading of this Address elicited immense applause.)

A gentleman from the gallery asked if a few words would be received from a friend of universal liberty. The President replied yes, and he

proceeded. Sir, this is a portentous hour ! this meeting is big with the fate of slavery. It is a solemn moment when men meet to resolve to cleanse the soil that slavery has stained. It must—it will be done. We will dig up the “ harp that hung on Tara’s walls,” and hang it on the oak where the breath of Freedom shall awaken its strings. In the most solemn manner, I avow my deep interest in this momentous question. But let us act wisely—let us act with caution, that our end may be the better attained. Are we not going too far ? (Simultaneous voice from the meeting— No ! no !) Let us be sure, then, to go far enough. I have recently travelled through many sections of this country, and have witnessed your slavery in the free States. (*Good*, from the meeting.) I have seen little children obliged to toil and suffer under your factory system, to the deprivation of education and the destruction of health. (Hear, hear !) Slavery may exist between man and man, after chattel slavery is banished ; and it will exist where men cherish so much pride of the eye, and overlook moral worth, if in low condition. Let it be known that men with the hod on their shoulders are often more truly deserving of respect than they whose palaces they build. Let us all, then, cultivate brotherly love, and extend it to all alike. (Applause, and Name ! name ! to which the reply was Emmons.)

A slight interruption of the action of the meeting here occurred, occasioned by an insane person, who had gained access to the hall, during which Wendell Philips, Esq. of Boston, prepared the following resolution : —[See the official proceedings.]

Mr. Philips was received with great enthusiasm, and spoke as follows :

I hold in my hand, Mr. Chairman, a resolution, expressive of our thanks to the sixty thousand Irishmen, who have sent us that token of their sympathy and interest ; and especially to those high and gallant spirits, who lead the noble list. I must say, that never have I stood in the presence of an audience with higher hopes of the rapid progress and success of our cause than now. I remember with what devoted earnestness, with what unflinching zeal, Ireland has carried on so many years the struggle for her own freedom. It is from such men—whose hearts lost no jot of their faith in the grave of Emmet—over whose zeal the loss of Curran and Grattan could throw no damp—who are now turning the trophies of one field of victory into weapons for new conquest—whom a hireling press and prejudiced public could never sever a moment from O’Connell’s side—it is from the sympathy of such that we have a right to hope much.

The image of the generous Isle comes to us, not only “ crowned with the spoil of every science, and decked with the wreath of every muse,” but we cannot forget that she lent to Waterloo the sword which cut the despot’s “ shattered sceptre through ;” and to American ears, the crumbled walls of St. Stephens yet stand, to echo the eloquence of her Burke, when, at the foot of the British throne, he took his place side by side with that immortal rebel, (pointing to the picture of Washington.)

From a priest of the Catholic Church, we might expect superiority to that prejudice against color which freezes the sympathies of our own

churches, when Humanity points to the slave. I remember that African lips may join in the chaunts of the church, unrebuked even under the proud dome of St. Peter's ; and I have seen the colored man in the sacred dress pass with priest and student beneath the frowning portals of the Propaganda College at Rome, with none to sneer at his complexion, or repulse him from society. I remember that a long line of Popes, from Leo to Gregory, have denounced the sin of making merchandize of men—that the voice of Rome was the first to be heard against the slave trade—and that the bull of Gregory XVI. forbidding every true Catholic to touch the accursed thing, is yet hardly a year old.

Ireland is the land of agitation and agitators. We may well learn a lesson from her in the battle for human rights. Her philosophy is no recluse ; she doffs the cowl, and quits the cloister, to grasp in friendly effort the hands of the people. No pulses beat truer to liberty and humanity than those which in Dublin quicken at every good word from abolition on this side the ocean : there can be no warmer words of welcome than those which welcome the American abolitionists on their thresholds.

Let not any persuade us, Mr. Chairman, that the question of slavery is no business of ours, but belongs entirely to the South.

Northern opinion, the weight of northern power, is the real *slave-holder* of America. Her presence in the Union is the Carolinian's charter of safety—the dread of the northern bayonet is their real police. Without it, the whole South were but the deck of a larger Creole, and the physical strength of the bondman would, as on board that vessel, sweep the oppressor from his presence. This very fact, that our hands rivet the fetters of the slave, binds us to raise our voices the more earnestly on his side. That *Union*, which takes from him the power of physical resistance, is bound to exert for him all the weight of a correct public opinion—to stir in his behalf all the depths of the heart of humanity. Every lover of peace—every one who hates bloodshed, must rejoice that it is in the power of northern opinion to say to slavery, Cease—and it ceases ; that the northern church can break every yoke, and bid the oppressed go free, and at her pleasure.

I trust in that love of liberty, which every Irishman brings to the country of his adoption, to make him true to her cause at the ballot-box, and throw no vote without asking if the hand, to which he is about to trust political power, will use it for the slave. When an American was introduced to O'Connell, in the lobby of the House of Commons, he asked, without putting out his hand—"Are you from the South?" "Yes, sir." "A slaveholder, I presume?" "Yes, sir." "Then," said the Great Liberator, "I have no hand for you!" and stalked away. Shall his countrymen trust that hand with political power, which O'Connell deemed it pollution to touch? (Cheers.)

We remember, Mr. Chairman, that when a jealous disposition tore from the walls of the City Hall of Dublin, the picture of Henry Grattan, the act did but endear him the more to Ireland. The slavocracy of our land thinks to expel that "old man eloquent," with the dignity of seventy winters on his brow—(pointing to a picture of J.Q.Adams) from the Hall of

Congress. They will find him only the more lastingly fixed in the hearts of his countrymen. (Tremendous and continued cheers.)

Mr. Chairman, we stand in the presence of at least the name of Father Mathew, we remember the millions who pledge themselves to temperance from his lips. I hope his countrymen will join with me in pledging here, eternal hostility to slavery. Will you ever return to his master the slave, who once sets foot on the soil of Massachusetts? (No, no, no!) Will you ever raise to office or power the man who will pledge his utmost effort against slavery? (No, no, no!)

Then may not we hope well for freedom? Thanks to those noble men, who battle in her cause the world over. The "ocean of their philanthropy knows no shore." Humanity has no country—and I am proud, here in Faneuil Hall, fit place to receive their message, to learn of O'Connell's fidelity to freedom, and of Father Mathew's love to the real interests of man.—(Great applause.)

Mr. Phillip's resolutions were enthusiastically adopted, with the first series of resolutions, by an 'ay' of tremendous emphasis.

Mr. C. L. REMOND, a gentleman of color, the bearer of the address from Ireland, was then presented to the meeting. He had been the honored associate of the most noble and distinguished persons, had received public honors while abroad, and been universally esteemed, as reflecting honor on his country. How was he treated on his return? Attempting to enter the Eastern rail-road cars, for the purpose of visiting his parents, he was informed that his color was a disqualification for entering them with white men (shame! shame!) and he was obliged to quit the society of some white gentlemen, his friends, who were anxious to see and converse with him, after so long an absence, and to go in the 'Jim Crow Car,' and they were forbidden to accompany him! (shame!) Mr. Remond then moved a vote of thanks to the city authorities for their prompt compliance with the requisition of the Hall, which he sustained in a brief, but energetic and eloquent speech, which obtained great applause.

With nine cheers, the vast assembly then adjourned. A more united and enthusiastic meeting was never held in the Old Cradle of Liberty. Its influence will be felt throughout the country.

FANEUIL HALL.

What voice on the gale turns the mad South pale,
As they trample our rights with their ruffian tread!
And whence comes the cry that is thundering by,
Till the mountains make reply that might waken the dead!

That thundering call, that the South doth appal,
Is thy voice, Faneuil Hall! Hark! hark to the roar,
As the people sweep along, all sternly and strong,
And lightly leap in at thy weloming door!

Oh now comes the hour to arise in our power,
Like the swell of the waves when the tide pours forth.
We trifle not nor pause, for we gather for THE CAUSE!
And who shall stay the steps of the sons of the North?

First, solemnly and calm, like the notes of a Psalm,
 Speak the words that ye take our resolve to declare !
 But clear make the sound, as a bugle were wound,
 That SLAVERY IS DOOMED IN THE TEN MILES SQUARE !

Next, to JOHN QUINCY ADAMS !—all at once ! three cheers !
 A blessing for the brave man, and scorn for the dumb !
 They've trampled on the Union for years and for years,
 And called to dissolve it—and now their hour has come !

Now, Liberty forever, with three times three !
 And he that stands beside her when the hurricane lowers,
 Though he come from the uttermost Isles of the sea,
 Is kinsman, and clansman, and countryman of ours !

Oh grand is the sound of their feet on the floor !
 New England stirs to her true sons' call !
 The last days of slavery are numbered and o'er,
 When five thousand men say the word in Faneuil Hall !

JANUARY 28th, 1842.

MARIA W. CHAPMAN.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq.

On the Divisions among American Abolitionists, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, 2d August, 1841.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON came forward amid loud cheers. He said—
 I know not that, at any subsequent part of this evening, I could choose a better opportunity for making one or two observations than at this moment. I rise without prompting and without persuasion. I rise spontaneously, and in obedience to my conscience alone, to speak in the sincerity of my heart, that which I believe to be dictated and sternly demanded by honor, by friendship, by truth, and by justice. Sir, there have been no circumstances in my short life that have been to me the sources of more pain, than the circumstances connected with the late unhappy divisions among the Abolitionists of the United States of America. (Hear.) And certainly no one circumstance connected with that unfortunate affair has given me pain in any degree approaching that which I experience, in the contemplation of the present state of the society with which it has been the chief honor of my life to be associated—the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. (Hear.) Never did I rise in this city under feelings so embarrassing or overpowering as at this instant. The place in which we meet—the number of this audience—the aspect of this platform—the absence of those whom I venerate, and not I alone, but whom we all venerate—these things so afflict me, that I could almost wish myself any where than where I am, though, in past times, I have never desired to be any where more than in the city of Glasgow. (Cheers.) I place little value on my own opinion—I desire you to attach no value to my opinion, save that which it merits as the opinion of an individual who has never been bought, or bribed, or menaced into the expression of any opinion which was not sanctioned by his judgment, and felt in his heart. (Cheers.) It has been—I will not say my misfortune—but my painful duty often to differ from my nearest and dearest friends ; often have I been called upon in critical moments to denounce, even in the severest terms, the policy of those whom I most respected, and who, if duty would have allowed, I would gladly have followed, and acknowledged in every respect as my superiors. (Cheers.) Nor would I, to find favor, utter one word which

truth did not warrant, or to maintain in the place which he occupied, the nearest or dearest friend I have in this, or in any other part of the world. (Cheers.) I say this to strengthen, if it be possible, the testimony I am about to bear—a testimony such as I trust I shall be able to reflect upon with satisfaction hereafter, careless whether it be a testimony which others are disposed to corroborate, if my own conscience, in the sight of God, tells me it is true. (Cheers.) *I say, then, that the deep conviction of my soul is, that that section of the Abolitionists in the United States which has been repudiated by many of the Abolitionists in this country, and respecting whom, it seems, a vote of want of confidence has been passed in London, is that section of the Abolitionists which deserves pre-eminently the countenance, the confidence, the love, and the earnest support of every lover of human liberty in every part of the world.* (Great cheering.) And upon what do I ground this opinion? Charge me not with presumption when I say that I have a knowledge of the men and women in the United States who have been thus repudiated, longer in its duration, and more intimate in its character, than that possessed by any other man in this country. (Hear.) The first time I heard of William Lloyd Garrison, who stands at the head of this party, and deservedly so, was from the lips of one who left on my mind the impression that he was a bad man. He was represented to me as a convicted libeller, as the tenant of a dungeon, as a companion of felons, as a man reckless of the safety of others, and seeking to disturb the peace, and to destroy the institutions of his country. This description of Mr. Garrison was given me by one to whose voice I have listened in this room, Mr. Elliot Cresson, the accredited agent of the American Colonization Society. He it was who first uttered in my ears the name of William Lloyd Garrison as associated with the epithets I have repeated. Thereafter I became acquainted with the real character of the man. First, through my friend, Captain Charles Stuart, who had visited America, and was then in London, and who had in his possession all the documents revealing the cause of the imprisonment of Mr. Garrison, as well as illustrative of his early history, and the share he had taken in the Emancipation cause. What, then, became of the charges which had been made against my friend? He was “a convicted libeller,” because he had denounced an individual of his own State, who while sustaining a reputation for respectability, was engaged in carrying on the domestic slave-trade between Maryland and Louisiana, by taking in his ship the victims of that traffic as freight. (Hear, hear.) He was the “tenant of a dungeon,” because, by the verdict of a pro-slavery jury, and the sentence of a slaveholding judge, he was ordained to pay a fine of 1000 dollars, or to be immured in prison on non-payment of the sum; the companion of felons he was—and many men, even holier and better than Mr. Garrison, have been the companion of felons, who are now the companions of angels and the spirits of the just, and have been the admired, and cherished, and sanctified of all generations since they quitted their dungeons. (Great cheering.) My opinion of Mr. Garrison, therefore, was changed; and soon after, I had the privilege of embracing him in the city of London; and from that period, the early part of 1833, down to this moment, I have been honored with his friendship, and, I think I may say, with his unlimited confidence. From 1833, I have been intimately acquainted with the working of the anti-slavery cause in America. In 1834, I was sent out from this country to America, for the purpose of prosecuting an anti-slavery mission, and during the time I was there, I obtained a knowledge of almost every person with whose names you are familiar; and let me say, too, that my acquaintance in the United States was not confined to that party which has recently been cast off by a portion of the anti-slavery public in this country. It extended to all the prominent individuals who have felt themselves called upon to separate from Mr. Garrison and his adherents. All of them, for I will make

no exception, were men of respectability and worth. I shall not, on this occasion, judge the motives which have influenced the seceders—nor will I undertake to condemn their conduct—I step forward to bear my humble but honest testimony to the unsullied integrity and unfaltering perseverance of those whom I regard as the injured and the misrepresented party, the party that has been made to suffer, I will not say by what means, in the estimation of many, who once admired and loved them, in this country, and of some, I lament to say, in this city. (Hear.) With regard to the vexed question of Woman's Rights, which I find uppermost in the minds of many dear friends, it has been represented that the division in the United States has grown chiefly out of agitation on the anti-slavery platform, on the part of Mr. Garrison and his friends, on the question of the abstract rights of women. Now, I undertake, unequivocally and solemnly, with my mind upon the history of this whole matter, to deny the accuracy of that representation, and I am prepared to demonstrate the justice of that denial. [Cheers.] When I was in the United States, I became intimately acquainted with that distinguished authoress, Mrs. Child, and had the privilege of conversing with her at her own fireside in Boston; and not having the fear of ecclesiastical authority before my eyes, I ventured to say to her, "Why remain at home? I have come on a mission to your country; I have thrown myself into the breach with the generous spirits who are storming the strong-hold of oppression in your land—go you to Europe—rouse the females of Britain—meet the anti-slavery societies—address them with your voice—address them by your pen—call upon them to sustain me, and to sustain all who, in the dark day of danger and of conflict, are endeavoring to pioneer into birth the day-star of liberty in America." (Cheers.) She nobly said, "Let the means be found to send me, and I go." I am, as you know, generally prompt in my movements. I got on board a steam-boat, and went to New York—the anti-slavery Committee was summoned—Arthur Tappan, the excellent President, in the Chair, with Lewis Tappan at his right, and the other friends of the movement around him. I said, "I had got the consent of Mrs. Child to go to England—she has made her Appeal in an admirable volume here in behalf of that class of Americans, called Africans—send the writer of that appeal to our country, and let her appear there as the champion of freedom in your country." (Cheering.) "But what is to become of her husband?" they said. (Laughter.) He is willing to go too, was my reply; and, in less than an hour, through the munificence of Arthur Tappan, and the generous devisings of his colleagues, a fund was guaranteed sufficient to meet the charges of Mr. and Mrs. Child's transit to this country, and their maintenance in respectability and comfort when here. (Cheers.) Circumstances, however, prevented the accomplishment of the intended mission. Was there any talk of Woman's Rights then? (Hear.) Did I go to New York as an advocate of Woman's Rights? Did I undertake the journey from Britain to plead the cause of petticoat supremacy. (Laughter.) It never entered my mind, nor did I see aught of impropriety in the action! At that time, there was no alarm felt at the proposition to send a female delegate to England, although, the other day, when four or five excellent females came over the water, the alarm was so great, that they were not only voted out of the Convention, but placed in the side gallery at Exeter Hall, though, strange to say, English ladies, several of them utter strangers to labor, still more to danger in the anti-slavery cause, were accommodated with seats on the right and left of the Chair, and I heard not a whisper from any one that they were out of their appropriate sphere. (Cheers.) Take another instance, equally illustrative of the joy with which female co-operation was at first welcomed. Those extraordinary females, the Misses Grimke, had their minds enlightened on the subject of slavery, and were led to lay aside all their aristocratical pretensions, to forsake all the pleasures of the society

in which they had been accustomed to move, and the comforts and indulgencies of life, for the cause of truth and freedom, and finally came forth as the bold but modest advocates of human rights. Was there any alarm created then? Nothing of the kind. These precious women came down to Philadelphia, and they labored zealously and unostentatiously in the cause of human freedom there. They were comforted and encouraged by the very same men who are now condemning the conduct of Mr. Garrison and his female fellow-laborers. It was not Garrison who called upon the Quaker sisters to make their appeals in public; but they were sent for from Philadelphia to New York by those who have recently formed the American and Foreign Anti Slavery Society—Arthur Tappan being Chairman, and Elizur Wright, the Recording Secretary—and were offered a commission, signed and sealed, authorizing them to go forth, and without let or hindrance, without limit or restriction, in public and in private, in season and out of season, to advocate the claims of the slave. (Great cheering.) They declined such a commission, choosing rather to act upon their own responsibility, and to follow the suggestions of their minds, illuminated by Divine influence. They went to Boston, and over a considerable portion of New England; and by degrees they were forced out into public. They were attacked by the Boston press, and from the Pro-Slavery pulpits, but they nevertheless labored, night after night, addressing men and women, ministers and senators, lawyers and physicians, in fact every description of people that came in their way. (Cheering.) And who were the defenders of these women from the attacks made upon them? (Cheering.) Those who have now separated from Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors, on the Woman's Rights question. (Applause.) Yes; and whenever I am called upon to give more than my own testimony in favor of the wisdom and utility of female exertions, I will go to the *New York Emancipator*, and take from its glowing and argumentative columns, written by the very chief among the seceders, the most eloquent, powerful, and irresistible paragraphs in favor of the interference of women in this question. (Cheering.) Let me emphatically say, I am giving no opinion of my own on the abstract question of Woman's Rights. The merits of the present question require no such declaration. I am simply giving an unvarnished account of the progress of this unhappy dispute. I come to an important view of this matter. Sirs, "the head and front of the offending" of the Boston Society, the old Massachusetts Society, as it properly is, and of all the Societies that support Mr. Garrison, "hath this extent, *no more*," that *they have remained firm and fast by the original Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society*. The division took place on the interpretation of that Constitution, and, avowedly at least, on that alone. Two years before the last anniversary, the question came up as to the scope and bearing of that Constitution, which was *the primitive instrument which bound together in harmony, co-operation, and fellowship, all the Societies of America*. That Constitution had a clause providing that *all persons* subscribing to the principles set forth, and contributing to the funds of the Society, should be members, and entitled to all the privileges of membership.* An attempt was made

* There is a most remarkable similarity in the constitutions of the Societies in America and in this country, as regards membership. Take first that of the pioneer Society in the United States, viz:—

First The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Art. III.—"*Any person, by signing the Constitution, and paying to the treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or one dollar annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.*"

Second. Glasgow Emancipation Society. Art. V.—"*That this Society shall consist of all friendly to its Object, who shall contribute to its funds*

to limit the application of the word "persons." In numberless instances, it had been interpreted to include persons of the other sex ; some of whom had labored more publicly, others more privately, just according to their inclinations and views of duty. They really thought themselves persons—[Laughter]—they subscribed the Constitution, and contributed to the funds of the Society, and, as *persons*, they came in and labored in the common cause. But now the time had come, when individuals, for certain reasons, wished to exclude women from the right of acting according to their own convictions of duty, and, therefore, they desired the word "persons" should be read "men," or that a rider should be appended, containing some explanatory clause that would have the same effect.

Now, *who was it* that thus introduced the question of Woman's Rights into the Anti-Slavery ranks ? *Was it Garrison ?* - NO. I say solemnly, and with a perfect knowledge of the whole of the transactions in the case, *Garrison and his coadjutors have never introduced the question of Woman's Rights.* They have left it alone—they did *not* introduce it for the purposes of *admission*, but they *resisted* its introduction for purposes of *exclusion*. The gist of the whole matter lies here,—the party accused were for leaving the platform, as it was originally erected, when you might have put all the abolitionists of America on such a platform as that on which I now stand, and some of them were women. (Cheers.) Were they for voting them out then ? No. They knew they had intellects ; they saw in their forms that ethereal essence which went out over the wide field of humanity, without regard to sex, color, creed, or clime ; they saw they had hearts, and that those hearts were beating strong with pity for the slave ; and they did not stop to ask were they enveloped in waistcoats, or in corsets ? (Cheers and laughter.) They had, however, inspired hearts, and they said, let them come in ; they did not count how many men have we, but how many true hearts have we. (Great cheering.) Would to heaven it were so in this room,—in this city,—in this kingdom,—all over the world this day ! I believe the hour is coming when those distinctions that have been set up in America and here, shall be blended so that it will not be asked what is the sex of a human being, but what are the principles, the aims, and the objects of the individual—(cheers)—and whether the being, man or woman, is fitted with faculties to promote the glory of God, and the best interests of immortal souls ? (Great cheering.) I say, again, Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors *have never brought forward the Woman Question.* (Hear.) Women made their appearance, guarded and guaranteed by the Constitution, and when they came in, they were left to be guided by their own feelings of discretion. And let me observe here—though I know not of one solitary act of indiscretion or impropriety on the part of any female Abolitionist—that had they, in later days, been guilty of any such, it had not been surprising ; for when you goad people by proscription, by exclusion, and by depriving them of their rights, you are just taking the

Five Shillings, or more, yearly."—Though not here expressed, the *practice* has all along been to give each member a copy of every publication of the Glasgow Society.

Third.—American Anti-Slavery Society. Art. IV.—“ *Any person, who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a slaveholder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at its meetings.*”

Fourth. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Art. V.—“ *That every person who subscribes not less than Ten Shillings annually, or makes donation of Five Pounds or upwards, shall be a member of this Society.*”

very means to lead them to acts of indiscretion. (Hear.) But how did our friends in America come to change their views? Here I shall give an honest opinion, however much it may offend some who live on the other side of the water. When the Abolitionists were few in number, despised, poor, and everywhere spoken against, they kept together like sheep in the storm, or at midnight, when the howling of the wolf is heard. The cause went on—the number of Abolitionists became greater and greater. Now the Rev. so and so joined the Society, after a great many ifs and buts—and then a Rev. Dr. so and so joined also, after a great many more—and some of these did not like the forwardness of the women. [Laughter.] We seldom like those that outstrip us in zeal. You will find through life, that for every hundred epithets of contumely—for every hundred imputations of improper motives cast upon one who gives himself on principle to the promotion of a good cause—you will not find the fragment of one flung at a man, if he only keeps snugly in the back ground, and follows obediently in the wake of his would-be superiors. Besides those who joined the Anti-Slavery Society, there were many outside, who said we cannot come in, unless you put the women down. The clergy raised a most astounding hue and cry against the labors of the Misses Grinke; and then out came the celebrated manifesto, called the “Clerical Appeal.” A number of ministers met, and banded together for the purpose of destroying the influence of these women. Now, I do not hesitate to say, that our friends in America [of the *New Society*] have missed their way in their efforts to win over such men. They had at last to choose between the maintenance of the original constitution, and the sanctioning (tacitly at least,) of the action of female members, as their conviction of duty might prompt them to labor in the cause of Emancipation; or they were required to violate their charter, and exclude the women, and receive as a compensation the proffered aid and patronage of a half converted party. They chose the latter alternative, and they attempted a modification of the constitution, which would have the effect of getting rid of the odium which attached to the exertions of females. Those who were for the exclusion of women were outvoted at the Annual Meeting two years ago; at the following meeting they were also outvoted; and they resolved to separate. They did separate, and the separatists have since called themselves by the name of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I have now touched upon this question, as far as refers to one at least of its most important historical features. There are many other circumstances to which I might advert, and I will here declare that there is not one connected with the whole matter that would not, I believe, admit of an explanation as exonerating to the conduct, and, as far as we can know them, the motives, too, of the parties I would humbly vindicate. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I must be permitted, with all the emphasis I can command, and all the warmth it is possible to feel, to express my own strong and unmingled dissatisfaction with the attempts that have been made on both sides of the Atlantic ocean, to undermine and destroy the character of the late delegate to this country, Mr. J. A. Collins. (Cheers.) I have received letters upon letters from persons in the United States, whose sense of honor and regard to truth, whose worth and respectability, in fact, whose every attribute commands my respect and confidence, and all these letters have spoken in terms of the most entire approbation of Mr. Collins, as a devoted, incorruptible, and talented advocate of the Emancipation cause in America. (Great cheering.) He was, from the first, so recommended to me,—he brought as many letters of introduction as I could grasp, all speaking of him in the highest terms—and I will undertake to say that, together, they formed a volume of commendation to the hearts of the people of this country, never excelled

and seldom equalled by any borne by any man that ever crossed the Atlantic to sit at your firesides, and share your hospitality. I did not hesitate then to take him to mine, and others did the same. To have done less would have been to insult his friends; but he had scarcely time to look about him, when over his devoted head gathered the black clouds of calumny. Charge upon charge was sent over the water against him, but not a fragment of evidence came with those charges to give them support. Friends of the cause wrote to the United States, and had answers, but no evidence substantiated those charges—evidence of nothing but of the groundlessness of the unkind accusations which had been fabricated to injure a worthy man in the estimation of our countrymen. (Hear.) I am justified in saying, that Mr. Collins is, at this moment, pure in reputation, whatever may be his opinions, and may take his stand, with proud advantage, by the side of any man, whatever be his station in society, however sacred the office which he fills, who has stood forth as his accuser or calumniator. (Cheering.) And here (continued Mr. Thompson,) I must, for once, turn accuser myself, and prefer a heavy charge against those who have been the instruments in this country of giving secret circulation to these charges. I accuse such persons, whoever they may be, of a cruel violation of Christian charity, as well as of an infraction of all the rules of fair and honorable warfare. When such charges came, destitute of proof, and without the opportunity of the party implicated being heard in explanation or defence, they should have enclosed them, and sent them back with letters of Christian admonition to their fabricators. Should any such come to me, concerning any Anti-Slavery rival or opponent of Mr. Collins, I trust I shall commit them to the lambent flame to be consumed to ashes, or to the innermost department of my desk, to lie and rot, rather than use them to the hurt of an innocent and defenceless brother. (Cheers.) It is within the compass of my own knowledge, that stab upon stab was inflicted in the dark upon the reputation of that gentleman, without warning and without affording him the smallest possible means of self-defence. These charges and inuendoes were, on reaching this country, transferred by accomplished copyists to sheets of foolscap paper, and enclosed in diplomatic envelopes, were sent to every part of the kingdom. They were again and again placed in my hands—none, let me tell you, ever came to me—(hear hear)—by persons who knew not Mr. Collins, and could only be alarmed and filled with suspicion by such dark intimations. Yes, everywhere I saw, or heard of, these sheets of foolscap, the post-paid calumnies, sent forth to close the ears, the hearts, and the purses of the uninformed, ere the innocent victim drew near. (Cries of “shame shame.”) Was such Christian treatment to a stranger on our shores, and an accredited agent in the cause of humanity? (Cheers.) Sir, those who circulated these charges must yet answer for them at the bar of the British people. (Cheers.) And the day will come when they must do so. They have, in an unchristian manner, from beginning to end, attempted to injure a man, not because they cherished a personal hostility to him, but from a strong desire to injure, in the estimation of the Abolitionists of this country, the party represented by him. (Hear.) Could they blacken the representative, they knew they would throw discredit upon those he represented. I know of nothing connected with the conduct of the party which has been repudiated that can furnish a parallel to the treatment of Mr. Collins.

“Good name in man and woman, dear, my Lord,

Is the immediate jewel of their souls:

Who steals my purse, steals trash: 'tis something—nothing:

'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;

But he that filches from me my good name,
 Robs me of that which not enriches him,
 But makes me poor indeed !”

So was it with my friend Mr. Collins. He was left poor in every thing but conscious integrity, weak in every thing but the justice of his cause, a cause that will ultimately make him omnipotent. (Cheers.) You may naturally ask, is there not really something in all this? How is it that so many good men in this country have taken part against these gentlemen? I will not attempt to answer this minutely; there is an old adage—Give a dog a bad name, and you may hang him; if you don't, somebody else will. (Laughter.) The other day, I could not name Mr. Garrison but the roof of the building reverberated [with acclamations, and I was honored and caressed because I was the friend of Garrison—he reflected upon me something of that lustre which, though dimmed for a day, shall yet shine brighter than before. (Cheers.) Now, “who so poor to do him reverence?” What has he done? Are his principles the same? Quite. Is the constitution of the American Society what it was? It is. Are the labors of Mr. Garrison as constant, zealous, self-denying, and incorruptible as they were? Ay—every day reveals more and more how hard it is, how impossible it is, to make him swerve. (Cheering.) But then he has opinions that are not our opinions. (A laugh.) He has many strange and ultra views. What! is it come to this, that we, who are battling for personal freedom, shall put fetters on the immortal mind, and clip the thoughts of men like the wings of a jack-daw, that has not the liberty to go beyond the wall of a garden within which we have confined it? (Cheers.) Grant that Garrison differs from you and from me—I identify myself (on the Anti-Slavery platform) with no views of his but those that are Anti-Slavery views. [Loud cheers.] I worked with him in America, and he held many of those views then; but did that prevent us from working? No. When our work was done, we then talked together of these views. Did this mar our harmony? No. I have been in New-York—and on the same platform have sat with one kind of a Quaker, calling himself Orthodox, another denominated a Hicksite, with Presbyterians, and all other religious persuasions—here one black, and here another white, men of all creeds and colors—and in that crisis of the great cause, it was the glory of the Abolition enterprise, it was the great distinguishing principle of the movement—that which told us our cause was founded in nature, and could lay hold of all hearts—that it was able to bring and to bind us together as one man, and, without the slightest compromise of individual opinions on other subjects, to knit our hearts in love. [Great cheering.] Oh! how often have I heard, from the lips of those men now writing down Garrison, the most eloquent eulogiums on this principle! and I have tried sometimes to imitate their strains;—it was indeed the grace and beauty of the movement in that country. [Cheers.] I ask again, what have the opinions of a man to do with the Anti-Slavery cause? I am not aware that I lost any of mine in America. I brought nothing extravagant or fanciful away from America. Has any one ever discovered in me a desire, up to the moment I introduced Mr. Garrison to the Glasgow public, to bring forward the woman question? [Hear.] Mr. Garrison came to this country. He found those who came with him shut out from the Convention, and he refused to be a member of it—I honor him for that. (Cheers.) I know, however, if he had gone in, his calm imperturbability, the force of his reasoning, the purity of his sentiments, the solemnity of his appeals, would have done good. In no meeting in America did Mr. Garrison ever offer a word to cause division—he ever deprecated it. He has said, let us have a con-

vention for temperance, and when that is over, let us away to the Abolitionist meeting. [Hear.] Now, take a remarkable proof of this in our own country. In the Convention, there was a debate about the female delegates; afterwards I came with Mr. Garrison to Scotland, and every where on the road, in the drawing room, as on the platform, every body who saw, admired and loved Garrison, till he was gone. [Hear.] We came to Edinburgh—nothing could exceed the harmony there—we came to Glasgow, nothing could surpass the enthusiasm with which Mr. Garrison was welcomed here. It was also my privilege to be associated with Messrs. Birney and Stanton, two excellent individuals. The same scenes were witnessed. None of the peculiar theological views of Messrs. Birney and Stanton were brought forward; and thus was a living proof afforded of the harmonizing operation of the great principle on which the American Society had been conducted. I, as an individual, could be equally at home with Mr. Garrison, who holds so many odd views, as they are called, and with Mr. Birney, who differs from them thoroughly. [Hear.] What, then, is the cause of all this discord? I pause for a reply. If there be an individual here to-night who knows why hearts understood to be one in this great cause should be divorced, let him speak out; and if any individual has a charge against the party with whom Mr. Garrison is connected, and which has not yet been met, let that charge be brought forward to-night, and I deem myself strong enough to grapple with it. [Continued cheering.] Let it go forth that I am prepared to meet any individual who is willing, if this most unhappy difference continue, to show cause why this separation is necessary, to take up the gauntlet again in Glasgow, and demonstrate before any audience that no real cause of difference, still less of separation, exists. [Cheers.] *I ask you, then, to pause ere you withdraw your confidence from the men and women of America, who have made the Anti-Slavery cause what it is. Their principles, their constancy, their professions, and their practice, are the same as they ever were.* I deny not that others are, in respectability, and even purity of motive, equal to them. There are some particular acts like those to which I have adverted, that can be attributed to no good motive: but to the great majority of them, I grant the utmost respectability and sincerity of motive. You can easily, from the experience you have had, and from your knowledge of the world, perceive for yourselves that the sensitiveness which many may feel to be connected with a suspected and odious party, and a desire of many more to be with the popular party of the day, must have actuated many in this matter. And then there are others who have been found to believe the reports circulated, because they came from respectable parties, who had not looked sufficiently into them. *I am convinced that nothing has ever been done by this party, against whom an act of excommunication has been pronounced, that should for an instant lessen the esteem of the Anti-Slavery public in this country. Had I the power to commit this great movement to any one party, I would, with much confidence, place it in the hands of that party who originated the Abolition cause;* while, at the same time, I believe that as sincere friends of the cause are to be found among the ranks of the Seceders, and that our duty is to wish both God speed, neither injuring the one by detraction, nor giving an exclusive support to the other. [Cheers.]

CIRCULAR OF CHARLES STUART.

In December, 1833, an Anti-Slavery Society was formed in the United States of North-America. The demand for it was extreme; for the

slave system of the United-States was the most desperately corrupt and ferocious which existed. The principles and objects of the anti-slavery society thus formed were eminently excellent; and the means which it adopted for the attainment of its glorious object were perfectly in keeping, for the *first four years*, with its noble principles.

But, in the course of 1837, *new* opinions began to be broached: and one of these gradually assumed the position, that "whatever it is morally right for a *man* to do, it is morally right for a *woman* to do;" and, therefore, women ought to be intruded, as delegates, debaters, and managers, into mixed societies of men and women.

This insane innovation, at first, had so dubious a form, that its real character scarcely appeared; but as soon as this became evident, it was vigorously resisted. Resistance, however, only aggravated the zeal of its advocates; and the *new truth*, as they call it, quickly assumed such importance in their eyes, and was so offensively intruded by them into all the proceedings of the society, that *they* who conscientiously resisted it had no alternative but to submit to it, or to separate themselves. I was one of the many who preferred the latter alternative without hesitation. The separation took place early in 1840: that of the leading society in New-York, in May 1840. At the division on the question, the innovators were found the most numerous; and, of course, the original name of "the *American Anti-Slavery Society*" remained with them. But they who rejected the innovation, having fewer votes present, took a new name—"The *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*."

The Abolitionists in the United States now consist of these two parties, together with a third, separate from both—which, like the other two, pleads for immediate and thorough emancipation, but which, from various motives, refuses to *associate* for that purpose.

Under these circumstances, the *American—or women-intruding—Anti-Slavery Society* sends agents to this country, Messrs. COLLINS and REMOND, to beg our money. But let us remember that, whatever countenance we give to these gentlemen, in this agency, will go more directly to strengthen a pernicious party in the United States than to aid the general cause of abolition. The errors of the advocates of justice are often more ruinous to righteousness than all the hostility of open enemies. By such aid Britain would be identified, as far as it goes, with the rhapsodists of the United States; and the sacred and powerful influence exercised so nobly and so beneficially by the late London Convention, in decidedly and at once rejecting the woman-intruding delusion, would be paralysed or lost—liberty would be wounded anew by the blunders of her friends—while they who love her more sanely, and who plead her cause unentangled with the snare, would be enfeebled by the encouragement given to the dogmatism and delusions of their adversaries.

They who value the intrusion of women into the debates and management of mixed societies more highly than the cause of liberty and love, will, of course, give their quotas to Mr. COLLINS. With such I remonstrate not. But I am anxious that others should not be deceived; in giving him their money, they will rather impede than aid the general progress of abolition; because they will contribute to hold up the abolition effort as at war with the most sacred and fundamental of human relations—even with those relations, by which God has given to men and women their respective spheres, and by sacredly regarding which alone, the vast moral power of women, with all its purifying influences, can be preserved to society.

I would say, with all respectfulness and affection, if we have any thing to spare for the furtherance of freedom in the United States—and

it is a cause *worthy of all support*—let us give it to those amongst the abolitionists in the United-States who harmonize with us, who pursue the same holy object on the same peaceful principles and by the same sane means as we do ; and who, since our General Convention in London, have given us the invaluable services of such men as BIRNEY and STANTON : and not to those who, after making the most injurious discord in their own country, did their best to distract our meeting in June ; who have since been unsparing in grossly slandering us ; and who now send an agent to ask our money for the American Anti-Slavery, as if the A. S. Society represented the great body of the abolitionists of the United States, instead of a minor and evil part of them, which is full of dogmatism and contention.

Any money remitted to Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN, Pearl Street, New-York, for abolition purposes, will be sure of direct and powerful application to the sacred cause of holy liberty and love, without partiality and without hypocrisy.

C. STUART.

DEED OF JOHN C. GORE.

At a special meeting of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held in Boston, at the Society's Room, Dec. 29, 1841—Ellis Gray Loring stated that John C. Gore, Esquire, of Jamaica Plain, had presented to the Society a piece of land, valued at about six hundred dollars, by a deed in the following words:—

Whereas, John C. Gore, of Roxbury, in the County of Norfolk, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, having learned that certain individuals residing in or near that part of said Roxbury, called Jamaica Plain, were desirous of forming a Baptist Church, and erecting a house of public worship in that place ; and having also ascertained that the piece of ground hereinafter described, would be deemed a suitable location therefor, did, in a letter dated on the fifteenth day of May last, offer to make to the said new Baptist Society a free gift of the said piece of ground for the erection of a meeting-house thereon:—adding to his letter the following request or reservation :

“ The only favor I ask in return is, that they (the new Society) will permit this building to be used twelve times in a year of a week day, and not of a Sunday, (for five years from the date of the opening of the house for religious services,) by the Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, who will appoint a responsible person, not personally disagreeable to the Baptist Society, to lecture therein, in order that the cruelties and villainies practised towards twenty-seven hundred thousand human beings, by a nation who call themselves Christians, and profess to be the most free and enlightened on the earth, may be exposed : after the expiration of which five years, the whole property will remain vested in the Baptist Society, without condition, hindrance, or agreement of any kind.”

And whereas, the said Gore subsequently received from the Clerk of said new Society a reply to his offer, in the following words :

Jamaica Plain, May 28, 1840.

“ Mr. J. C. Gore : Sir,—At a meeting of individuals interested in forming a Baptist Church at this part of the town, your communication, offering a lot of land as the site of the contemplated meeting-house, was read, and referred to a committee specially appointed to consider the same. The committee met for this purpose on Monday evening last, and, after due deliberation,

"Voted, That, although they regard with kindness Mr. Gore's offer, yet under all circumstances in the case, it is inexpedient to accept the same, with the reservations and conditions named by him."

Now, therefore, I, John C. Gore, above named, although painfully and reluctantly convinced not by this only, but by numberless similar instances, that the American Church, professedly dedicated to One who came to proclaim deliverance to the captive, and liberty to them that are bruised, is, as a body, criminally indifferent to the wrongs and sufferings of the Slave, and in virtual alliance with Slavery, am yet desirous of making my proffered and rejected gift in some suitable way available to the cause of the true religion, which includes justice and mercy towards our fellow-man.

And for this purpose, I do hereby, in consideration of the premises, grant and convey unto Francis Jackson, Henry G. Chapman, and Ellis Gray Loring, of the city of Boston, Esquires, and members of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, a parcel of land in Burroughs-Street, in Jamaica Plain, in said Roxbury, containing three quarters of an acre, more or less, and bounded as follows: Starting from land of Nathaniel Seaver, on Burroughs-Street, and running on Burrough-Street, north 37° west, 134 feet; thence turning and running on land of John E. Williams, south 52 1-4° west, 229 feet, 6 inches; thence turning and running on land of John Ashton, south 34 1-4° east, 134 feet 4 inches; thence turning and running north 53° east 234 feet 9 inches, on land of Nathaniel Seaver to Burroughs-Street, at the point of starting.

With all the privileges and appurtenancies thereof: being the same conveyed to me by the deed of Cyrus Josselyn, dated April 3d, 1840, and recorded with Norfolk Deeds, Lib. 128, Fol. 60.

To have and to hold the above granted premises to the said Jackson, Chapman and Loring, the survivors and survivor of them and his heirs and assigns, to his and their use, but in trust, nevertheless, to make the said property, or its proceeds, instrumental at their discretion, and in any way they may think proper, in promoting the cause of the immediate and unconditional abolition of American Slavery.

In testimony whereof, I, the said John C. Gore, and also Mary Gore, my wife, who executes these presents in token of her releasing, all right to dower in the premises, and of her hearty concurrence in this my act, have hereunto set our hands and seals this eighth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

JOHN C. GORE,
MARY GORE.

Executed and delivered in presence of

SARAH F. JAMES,
ELIZA G. JAMES,
ELISHA JAMES.

Suffolk, ss. Boston, Oct. 22, 1840. Then personally appeared the above named John C. Gore, and acknowledged the above instrument to be his free act and deed, before me, E. H. DERBY, *Just. of the Peace*.
Dedham, Oct. 29, 1840.

Received and entered with Norfolk Deeds, Lib. 130. Fol. 38.

Pr. ENOS FOORD, Reg."

Read; and thereupon, on motion of Edmund Quincy,

Resolved, That this Board highly appreciate the enlightened philanthropy which induced Mr. Gore to make this donation to the Anti-Slavery cause, under the circumstances recited in the Deed; and that

they regard the emphatic testimony which he has incorporated therewith against the (so called) religious bodies which refuse to suffer the duties of christians towards any portion of their fellow-men to be urged in their churches, as a most important and valuable part of his munificent benefaction.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Board, on behalf of the Abolitionists of Massachusetts and of the slave, be presented to Mr. Gore for this liberal instance of his sincere interest in the cause of emancipation.

Ordered, That a copy of these votes be communicated by the Secretary, to Mr. Gore, and that a copy (together with one of the Deed) be furnished to the Liberator for publication. Adjourned.

O. JOHNSON, *Sect. pro tem.*

From the Dover Morning Star.

A GENEROUS AND INSTRUCTIVE GIFT.

Mr. John C. Gore, of Roxbury, Massachusetts, has given a deed of a piece of land at Jamaica Plains, near Boston, to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, valued at six hundred dollars. The deed includes an account of a previous offer of the gift of the same land to a Baptist Society, who were desirous of forming a Baptist church and erecting a house for public worship in that place; with the condition that the building might be used twelve times a year, on week days, not at all on Sundays, for five years from its first being opened, by the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, who would appoint a responsible person, not personally disagreeable to the Baptist Society, to lecture therein, "in order that the cruelties and villanies practised towards twenty-seven hundred thousand human beings, by a nation who call themselves Christians, and profess to be the most free and enlightened on the earth, may be exposed." After the expiration of the five years, the whole property was to remain vested in the Baptist Society without condition.

The Baptist Society replied to this proposal, in a letter by their Clerk, that they "deemed it inexpedient to accept the proffered gift, *with the conditions named by Mr. Gore.*"

We denominate this deed an instructive as well as a generous gift. Its peculiar instructiveness lies in the account incorporated in it, of the offer of the land to a Baptist Society, and the rejection of the offer on account of the conditions specified. It shows what kind of religion it is, rather what kind of religion it is *not*, that is *possessed* by some societies that *profess* the Christian religion. It shows that their religion actually possessed is *not* the Christian. That it is a religion without mercy—deaf and dumb to the deepest injuries under which humanity was ever crushed; and not only refusing themselves to hear and speak, but having a disposition to hinder others from hearing and speaking in behalf of crushed millions, and in reproof of the wickedness of a hypocritical nation. And it will be instructive to posterity. This deed, including this history, is recorded "with Norfolk deeds, Lib. 130, Fol. 33." There will it stand a testimony, while the archives of this nation shall endure. And when these records are past away, this demonstration of the spuri-ousness of that Society's religion will appear in those "books" which are to be "opened" when the dead, small and great, shall stand in judgment.

E. M.

MADISON WASHINGTON.

ANOTHER CHAPTER IN HIS HISTORY.

This name will be remembered as belonging to the leader of the "Immortal Nineteen," who fought for and obtained their liberty on board

the Creole. Madison was the "very large and strong slave" found in the after cabin, who being seized by both the master and mate, shook them off, and in spite of their endeavors—together with those of a third sailor who stood over the hatchway—forced a passage, and rushing on deck, cried, "*We have begun, and must go through!*"

This scene on the Creole deck was but one chapter in the history of Madison Washington. Nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that this occasion made Madison, and not Madison made the occasion. A new clue to the character of this hero of the Creole has just been furnished us.

About eighteen months since, Madison was in Canada. He there bore this same name. He staid awhile in the family of Hiram Wilson, who describes him, like the "Creole protestants," as a very *large* and *strong* slave. Madison had been some time in Canada—long enough to love and rejoice in British liberty. But he loved his wife who was left a slave in Virginia still more. At length, Madison resolved on rescuing her from slavery. Although strongly dissuaded by his friends from making the attempt in person, he would not listen, but crossed the line into this State. At Rochester, he fell in with friend Lindley Murray Moore, who collected ten dollars to aid him in his journey towards Virginia. So strong was Madison's determination, that at this time he assured his friends he would have his wife or lose his life.

As he passed along, he was heard from at Utica and in Albany. The next account, he stands a freeman on the deck of the Creole—the master spirit of the noble nineteen!

We infer, of course, that Madison in attempting to liberate his wife was himself re-enslaved. And as it is the custom with slaveholders in the more northern slave States, to send the fugitive when secured by them to the extreme South—lest he escape again—lest he communicate to other slaves the incidents of his day of freedom—as an example that shall strike terror to the breast of his fellows—he is sold to the Southern market. So Madison, we suppose, was captured, and as a dangerous slave sold for New Orleans, and shipped with his 134 fellow sufferers.

The sequel we all know. Madison Washington is again a freeman under the dominion of Queen Victoria. Long may he remain free! One question, however, we greatly wish to have answered. Is he still without his beloved wife? Remember it was Madison's visit "aft among the women" that led to the first act of violence on the Creole. Might not his wife have been there among the women? Yes, and this grave Creole matter may prove to have been but a part only of that grand game in which the highest stake was the liberty of his dear wife. Will not some British abolitionists obtain for us the story from Madison's own lips?—*Utica Friend of Man*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

DARLINGTON, 3d mo. 25, 1841.

RESPECTED FRIENDS:—Having received a letter from my esteemed friend James Cannings Fuller, I enclose an extract from it to you, with the request that, in justice to William Lloyd Garrison and John A. Collins, you will transmit a copy of it to every individual to whom the extracts from the letters of the Rev. Nathaniel Colver were sent, as an antidote to the false and libellous charges brought by Mr. Colver against those individuals. The letter of J. C. Fuller was written in reply to one which I addressed to him, making particular inquiries with respect to the foundation for Mr. C's statements. I shall be obliged by an early

acknowledgement of the receipt of this communication, with the information, whether my request can be complied with.

I am respectfully, your friend, ELIZABETH PEASE.

British and Foreign A. S. Society, 27 New Broad-street, Apr. 20, 1841.

MY DEAR MISS PEASE:—Your letter of the 25th ult. with the extract from a communication of James Cannings Fuller to yourself, respecting Wm. Lloyd Garrison and John A. Collins, having been read in Committee, I am requested to acknowledge the receipt of the same, and to state that you labor under a wrong impression in supposing the Committee to have been parties to the circulation of what you designate “false and libellous charges, brought by Mr. Colver against those individuals,” and that, therefore, they are not in a position to comply with your request.

The Committee of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society having addressed them on the same subject—laboring under a similar error—they beg to hand you extracts of that part of their reply to the friends in Dublin on the subject:—

“With respect to the extracts from Mr. Colver’s letters, and from the Massachusetts Abolitionist, which were transmitted to you, the Committee are in no way responsible for the one or the other. The Committee neither knew of nor sanctioned, directly, or indirectly, their circulation in any direction. On inquiry, however, they find that one or two of their number conceived it to be proper, that a few of the more active anti-slavery friends in the country should be made aware, that statements of the nature of those referred to, were circulated in the United States, apparently on good authority, leaving their friends to exercise their own judgments as to what degree of credit or importance might be attached to them. This is the true state of the affair.”

I am, my dear Miss Pease, yours truly, JOHN SCOBLE.

DARLINGTON, 4th mo. 27, 1841.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:—It appears by the letter of the 20th inst. that the Committee of the B. and F. A. S. Society have not, as a body, deliberated on the circulation of the extracts from the letters of the Rev. Nathaniel Colver, but that they have been circulated by some of its members. Now, if their being thus issued by influential members of the Committee from the office of the Society, forwarded under the cover of its Secretary, sealed with the Society’s seal, and transmitted, together with other official documents, to the Secretaries and influential members of its auxiliaries, in various parts of the country, does not stamp them as *official*, it is difficult to determine what would, and they are generally regarded in this light by the individuals who have received them.

Under these circumstances, therefore, permit me to say, that, whether the Committee *intended* their circulation to be stamped with its authority or not, they owe it no less to the individuals whose characters they have thus been the means of injuring, than to their own, as men of integrity and honor, to require their Secretary, and those of their members, through whose instrumentality they have been brought under the censure of a large portion of their constituents, throughout the country, to make all the reparation in their power, by giving a publicity to the refutation, *equal*, at least, to that which was given to the “charges,”—charges which have been fully proved to be both “false and libellous.”

With best wishes for the success of the efforts of the Committee, in the promotion of all the legitimate objects of their association,

I remain, respectfully, thy friend, ELIZABETH PEASE.

John Scoble.

To this letter, it is believed, no reply was ever received from Mr. Scoble.

LETTER TO DR. BAILEY.

BOSTON, Sept. 27, 1841.

DR. GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr.—DEAR SIR,—In accordance with a unanimous vote of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at a meeting held in Boston this day, at 25 Cornhill, it is our privilege to transmit to you the enclosed draft for one hundred dollars, as a donation from the treasury of the Society, to be applied to the purchase of another press for the Philanthropist, in the place of that which was recently destroyed by the mob in Cincinnati. This sum, though trifling in itself, is nevertheless large, in view of the pecuniary ability of the Massachusetts Society at the present time. It is presented to you, by the Board, in the name of the members and friends of that Society throughout the Commonwealth, as a token of the abhorrence with which they unitedly regard the late riotous proceedings in your city—of the esteem and admiration in which you are held by them, for the rare moral courage and noble fidelity to the cause of bleeding humanity, which you exhibited at this perilous crisis, as well as for what you have done and suffered on other trying occasions—and of their determination never to give up the conflict with slavery, until it be extirpated from the American soil. It is not doubted that the abolitionists of Ohio will promptly rally to your aid, and erect a new anti-slavery press for every old one that the minions of the slaveholding power may mutilate or destroy. This should be done without delay. The action of the friends of freedom, in such an emergency, should be as rapid as the motion of light, and as resistless as the tide of Niagara. Let there be no faltering—no delay—no cant about the duty of acting cautiously and prudently—no counselling to suspend operations until a more favorable period. NOW is the best, the only time; and to act boldly and uncompromisingly is the highest dictate of wisdom, the best caution, and the soundest policy. Whoever is for turning back, or beating a retreat, or discontinuing the publication of the Philanthropist even for an hour, betrays a weak and cowardly, if not a treacherous and wicked spirit. Give no heed to such counsellors; but “trust in the Lord, and do good,” and he will be “a very present help in time of trouble.” Cincinnati has been fully disgraced: it is anti-slavery alone that can redeem her character. Her children shall yet rise up, and call you and your persecuted coadjutors blessed. Your country, redeemed from her great iniquity, shall rank you among her truest friends, and her noblest benefactors. Judging from the past, we are confident that you will remain firm and faithful to the end.

The sympathies of thousands, in this section of the country, are deeply excited in behalf of the colored population of Cincinnati, whose cries have entered the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth. May they have grace vouchsafed to them from on high, so as not to return evil for evil, but blessing for cursing—remembering that it is always better to suffer wrong than to do wrong. Let them be assured that the wrath of their enemies shall be made instrumental to the deliverance of all who are in bonds.

The Board, in forwarding the enclosed mite, feel none the less gratified to be able to give this expression of their sympathy and esteem, because they have very seriously differed in opinion with the Philanthropist, in regard to the unhappy division which has taken place in the anti-slavery ranks within the last two years. However much they may have lamented this disagreement, they have never doubted the purity of your motives, while they have ever highly appreciated your editorial candor and ability. They bid you God speed.

In behalf of the Board,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, }
WENDELL L. PHILLIPS, } Committee.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by a moral influence; and whereas we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth," and in obedience to our Savior's golden rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION :

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ARTICLE 2. The object of the Society shall be to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and to obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person, by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or one dollar annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor, and ten Counsellors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be intrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board, and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the fourth Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at the meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June, and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary, on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made have been submitted to the Board of Managers, in writing, previously.

